

JEWISH OBSERVER **AND** **MIDDLE EAST REVIEW**

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ZIONISM: What is the truth?

PAGE 3

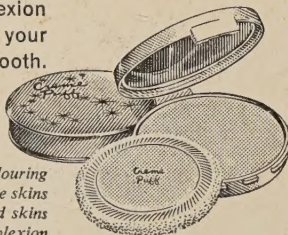
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COMMENT

WHAT KIND OF ZIONISM ?

Of course, the Zionism of the 1960s is in a state of radical transformation—some prefer to call it a state of crisis. The nomenclature is immaterial. It would be odd indeed, and a matter for serious concern, if Zionist thought and practice had remained unaffected by the revolutionary transformation of Jewish life through the emergence of Israel and the changed social, political and economic status of the Jews in the western world.

It has been, in fact, one of the main characteristics of modern Zionism that it produced periodic shocks to contemporary Jewish life. At every critical stage in the history of the Jews in the twentieth century, it was Zionism that provided the locomotive that pulled us through the then prevailing crisis. It did this in almost every instance by looking beyond the horizon to the seemingly impossible. Herzl did it at the first Congress in 1897 when he founded the Zionist Organisation and proclaimed the Jewish State. Weizmann did it with the Balfour Declaration and the policy of practical Zionism. Ben-Gurion did it in 1941 with the Biltmore Programme which set the Jewish State as the political objective. Sharett did it with the Jewish Brigade, and then we come to three more examples which have a special bearing on the Zionist problems of today.

* * *

The first occurred immediately after the war with more than half a million displaced Jewish refugees in the camps of Europe. There was nowhere for them to go. A trickle was moved to Palestine "illegally" in small ships, carrying at the most a hundred or two at a time. Then came the Zionist decision to send not hundreds, but thousands. It was thought impracticable and impossible. It worked. The second test came with the arming of the Hagana when a clash with the Arab world became unavoidable. A trickle of light arms, a few dozen rifles and odd lots of machine guns were bought and smuggled into Palestine. When Ben-Gurion demanded heavy equipment, costing millions, he was told that there was neither the money nor the opportunity. The Zionist approach obtained both.

But perhaps the most significant example is the last. Even good Israeli experts—not to speak of experts from all parts of the world—had written off the development of the Negev as a white elephant. There would be neither the settlers nor means for their livelihood. And it looked for a long time as

if they were right. But the Zionists (including Ben-Gurion) persisted, and this week they record another significant breakthrough (which is reported on page 27). It is only the beginning, but it shows again the working of the Zionist idea. In every great crisis of our time it has produced the men, the ideas, the policy and the means to achieve them.

* * *

There was another aspect of Zionism which was always significant. It never had any geographical limitations. Its achievements were those of Zionists in Vienna, in London, in New York, in Warsaw and in Jerusalem. None of it would have been possible without the co-operation of the whole movement. And so it is today. There exists no single Israeli problem that has not its Diaspora aspect, and there exist no Zionist problems in the Diaspora without their Israeli aspect. The big question before both is what is to be the great Zionist issue of the 1960s? Is immigration going to dry up, as it has been inclined to do during the last two or three years? Can Israel afford it? What happens to colonisation of the Negev? What happens to the need for expanding educational and cultural horizons?

The Israelis cannot solve this by themselves; nor can the Diaspora communities. But they can do it together. It is, therefore, a matter of great interest that this should be one of the principal questions to which the sixtieth annual conference of the British Zionist Federation will be addressing itself. But of even greater significance will be the answer that will come from it. Will it have the same shock effect on the Anglo-Jewish community as have past Zionist decisions at a critical phase of our history? Is it not possible, for example, to raise the sights of western immigration to Israel, as they were raised for illegal immigration and for the acquisition of arms? It is surely no more seemingly impossible now than it was then.

The conference has before it some unorthodox topics which show that it is attuned to the new needs, which are themselves considerably concerned with the critical and growing need for higher educational standards in Israel and how this can best be geared to the educational work of the Zionist Federation and of the Diaspora communities in general. Conferences never provide solutions, but they show the way. And this weekend the British Zionist Federation stands at one of the decisive watershed periods in the progress of Zionism.

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the 25th World Zionist
Congress.

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ELECTION

MAPAI PULLS UP ITS SLEEVES

PREPARING FOR BATTLE
ON AUGUST 15

from our own correspondents

Jerusalem and Tel Aviv:

With an unparalleled display of reluctance, the parties and the people are girding themselves for the coming election, which has now been set for August 15. With the Progressive Party's 56—16 decision against participating in an Eshkol-led government, Mapai decided not to dally any longer and to proceed with the formulation of its campaign policies and programme.

Not a few of its leading members charged that the party had already dallied too long and that the public manoeuvrings to keep the outgoing coalition in being had already lost it another seat. Eshkol is being blamed for giving the Progressives too much rope, though Ben-Gurion, pushing aside any considerations of personal prestige, had approved his initial efforts to re-form the coalition.

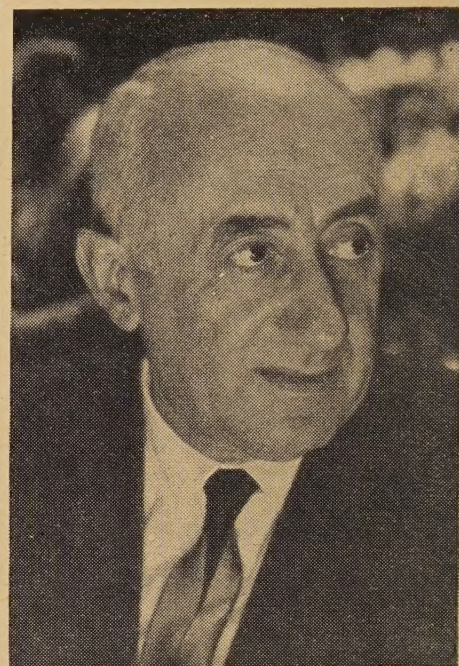
On Thursday morning of last week, after the Progressive decision was announced, the Mapai Secretariat decided that "enough is enough," and voted to proceed with its election preparations. Even then, there were some who thought another attempt to re-form the coalition should be made, but a powerful group including Almogi, Aranne, Golda Meir, Shimon Peres and Abba Houshi demanded an end to the "propositions" and Ben-Gurion, after pointing out they had given the Progressives every reasonable chance to return to the fold, stressed that there had to be a limit.

Almogi livid: Eshkol, according to his critics, overreached himself. The first idea of an Eshkol-led government as a sop to the Progressives was put forward, apparently, by Hazani of the Mizrahi. The idea was that Ben-Gurion would stay on as Minister of Defence. After consulting with a few friends, Eshkol told Hazani he could only support a government led by Ben-Gurion.

But, under further pressure, Eshkol approached Aranne and requested that he join him in putting the idea to Ben-Gurion who, at the time, knew nothing about it. Ben-Gurion gave his approval. If a condition for re-forming the coalition had been the dismissal of this or that Minister, he said, he would have

refused. But he could not take a similar position when he himself was the man involved.

Party secretary Almogi, who was in Haifa when the Eshkol approach was made, is said to have been livid when news of the proposal reached him. In a telephone conversation with Eshkol he said that he would not oppose the formation of an Eshkol government publicly but that if such a government were to be completed, then he would definitely resign. Ben-Gurion tried to dissuade Almogi



PROGRESSIVE KOL
More to the right...

from this line, but he refused his counsel.

Kibbutz concern: Meanwhile, the news of the Eshkol approach to the Progressives had leaked out bringing critical reaction from many of Mapai's supporters and sarcastic comments from its opponents. Some of the damage had already been done.

Now the party is engaged in a tightening of the ranks so as to recoup some of its lost prestige. The Secretariat's decision to discontinue contacts with the other parties was approved by the Mapai Central Committee on Sunday by a vote of 174—6. Significantly among the six was Haim Gvati, secretary of the Ihud Ha-kibbutzim, who said he favoured the continuation of efforts to secure a compromise because elections at this juncture might produce a great shock and because he was concerned about the feeling with-in the kibbutzim.

Ben-Gurion sympathised with him. Untimely elections would prove harmful to the economy, to democracy and

to the nation's security. Most depressing of all, was the fact that, even after the elections, "we will be back with the same parties." But the fact was that there was no longer any alternative to elections. Mapai could have formed a stable government, but the other parties lacked the political courage to do so.

Herut ruled out: He seemed most hurt of all by the attitude of the Progressives. In the past, he said, the Progressives had always co-operated with Mapai, but now the upper hand in that party seemed to



PROGRESSIVE HARARI
... or to the left?

lie with those who did not feel that such an association was any advantage. He indicated, however, that Mapai would always welcome other parties into partnership (provided they did not seek to dictate)—excepting, however, the communists and Herut.

Mrs. Meir, too, argued that there was no further point in putting off the elections. The party had now to heal the wounds of "the affair" and safeguard its prestige. If Mapai was to be judged, let it be by the people at the polls.

Just how the people will judge is at present Mapai's major preoccupation. There is hardly an Israeli who does not believe that Mapai will lose some seats in the Knesset. The question is how many—five or fifteen?

Ahdut Avoda still hopeful: But there seems little doubt that Mapai will remain the predominant party and Ben-Gurion the national leader. And the more optimistic party campaigners point out that a lot can happen to swing the

pendulum between now and August 15, both at home and abroad.

Shraga Netzer, head of the "Gush" veterans' section of Mapai and one of the most influential figures in the party's inner circles, has promised that the list of candidates will include representatives of all sections of thought within the party. The fact that Golda Meir and Zalman Aranne, two Lavon stalwarts, have rallied so closely to Ben-Gurion's side seems a guarantee of this.

Kol is named: Mrs. Meir is known to feel that, whatever the rights or wrongs of Ben-Gurion's stand in the Lavon affair, the Premier has been shabbily treated by some of his closest colleagues in negotiations with the Progressives.

It is already clear that a central theme of the Mapai campaign will be to blame the Progressives for forcing elections on the country. This line has already been taken publicly in speeches by Almogi and Aranne. Shimon Peres, speaking at Petah Tikva, specifically named Moshe Kol as the villain of the piece.

Within the Progressive fold there is still much heart burning going on over the haste with which the party is being pushed into a marriage with the General Zionists. Young militants within the General Zionists and Herut are already advocating the establishment of a united bloc to embrace all three.

Back to their towers: One of the most interesting developments—or, really, lack of developments—has been the almost complete disappearance of the academician's movement for Lavon and against Ben-Gurion. All its recently vocal members have returned to their ivory towers and now not only their voices but also their pens are silent. Professor Rottenstreich, a member of the Mapai Central Committee and always a political activist, is the only one still contributing his mite.

Professor Talmon, asked about his attitude to the proposed Liberal Party, replied that he was now devoting himself exclusively to his academic work.

What is left is a group of Mapai youngsters led by Zvi Kesse (son of Yona Kesse), Moshe Gilboa (director of the Histadrut's Afro-Asian Department) and Uri Tal (an assistant in the Hebrew University's History Department). They have no common programme and seem divided over foreign policy and Histadrut issues, but they are united in common protest against the handling of the Lavon affair.

The "new young": They also have some ideas in common about party leadership, just as a few years ago it was a different set of youngsters—Ahuvia Malkin, Avraham Offer, Asher Yedlin and others—who joined Peres and Dayan in opposition to the veterans entrenched in

places of influence.

With most of the then youngsters now in positions of influence themselves, they have given up opposing. The new blood they infused into Mapai has proved valuable. Now, it appears, history might repeat itself. The new youngsters are also ambitious and intelligent. On the average, they are about ten to fifteen years younger than the Dayan-Peres group. It is possible that from out of their ranks will come the future leaders of the party's next "young generation."

The Knesset scene has, of course, been transformed by the election decision. This week's debate on the Foreign Ministry's budget saw party spokesmen taking up their rigid lines of division. This led Mapam spokesman Hazan, for one, into some strange by-ways of thought.

Having criticised the government for abstaining from the U.N. Assembly vote on the admission of China, which he said was an evasion of decision, he went on to attack Israel for voting with France on Algeria. He admitted that Israel could not have voted against France, but why did she not abstain?

Offer withdrawn: The central theme of the debate was the Arab refugee question during which Mrs. Meir had announced the withdrawal of Israel's offer to accept 100,000 Arab refugees. The situation had changed since the offer was made in 1949, she pointed out. The arguments for and against ranged along the traditional party lines, from Mapam's utopian to Mizrahi's impossible.

SHIMSHON YUNITCHMAN

Dr. Shimshon Yunitchman, a moderate amongst Herut leaders, died in Jerusalem on Tuesday morning at the age of 54. A veteran Zionist and spokesman for his party on foreign affairs, Yunitchman was mentioned recently as one of those who might cross over to join the ranks of the new Liberal Party.

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THE BEN-GURION MYSTIQUE

SOMETHING THAT IMPRESSES THE ARABS

from our own correspondent

Cairo :

One of the more surprising things about Egypt's controlled press—and indeed the press of many Arab countries—is the amount of front-page space devoted to straight reporting of developments in Israel. The doings of Mr. Ben-Gurion are frequently reported without comment, but with the familiar use of his initials. "B. G. May Resign" was one of the more recent examples.

There is, in fact, something of an Arab obsession with "B. G." They do not quite understand what makes him tick, but they would greatly like to know. The fact that his character is so different from that of their own leaders has produced a kind of mystique about the man, an unpredictability, which intrigues and fascinates the educated Arab.

To many of them he is a wise old wizard who always manages to find the magic formula which will bring him out on top. The Arabs know far less about him, for example, than they know about Churchill. They admire Churchill tremendously. But what admiration there may be for Ben-Gurion as a wizard is tinged always with the fear that he has a trick or two up his sleeve which might make them disappear into thin air.



B.-G. AND GENERAL ZIONIST PERETZ BERNSTEIN
Nothing up his sleeve?—the "wise old wizard" still keeps them guessing

President for life: The fact that Ben-Gurion has recently taken a battering over several issues, more especially the Lavon affair, has aroused the hopes of some that they will now see the final elimination of this unknown quantity. Particularly do they envy his ability to talk to the west in its own language and to make deals with them on a basis of equality. The only other "Middle Easterner" they know capable of doing this is Bourguiba and they envy him

this ability, too.

Perhaps what it boils down to is that Ben-Gurion is the symbol of that degree of intellectualism and achievement that marks out Israel and creates the fear that Israel possesses the same technical and political potentialities as any of the western powers. This aspect may, indeed, be more important than any other.

Here in Cairo, it seems, we are about to witness another boost to Gamal Abdel Nasser's prestige: his installation as President for life. Most of us thought this was already the case, but apparently someone thought it would be just as well to establish the fact constitutionally. It would also give the masses another excuse for a shindig.

Democratic liberties : The provisional Constitution promulgated on March 5, 1958, which has 73 articles, is still in use but a new one is now in the course of formulation under Nasser's instructions. It is greatly inspired by the American model which Nasser appears to admire. It does, however, make allowance for the "peculiarities" of both the Egyptian and Syrian situations.

The basic plan is for a federal constitution, the Syrian and Egyptian regions being given their independence except in matters of defence and foreign affairs. Apparently the new Constitution will be approved by a "referendum" of all the

THE ZIONIST FEDERATION OF GT. BRITAIN AND IRELAND

60th Annual Conference

Saturday Evening and Sunday, 25th and 26th March, 1961

at the

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OPENING SESSION: SATURDAY EVENING AT 8 P.M.

H.E. THE ISRAEL AMBASSADOR, MR. ARTHUR LOURIE

In the Chair: MR. WOOLF PERRY, M.C.H.S.

Movers of Resolutions:

SIR BARNETT JANNER, M.P.

MR. ISRAEL M. SIEFF, DR. S. LEVENBERG

Sunday morning, 26th March, from 10 a.m.

A delegate Reception in honour of MR. WOOLF PERRY
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Sabbath morning Services for delegates will be held at Brondesbury Synagogue, Chevening Road, N.W.6 at 9.30 a.m. Commercial Road Gt. Synagogue, E.1 at 9.15 a.m.

people of both provinces. Its acceptance will be coupled with a declaration of Nasser's election to the Presidency for life.

The Charter will include a sentence calling the U.A.R. a part of the Arab "ummah" or people. In fact, the Constitution is being framed in such a manner as to appeal to all other parts of the Arab "ummah" to join up with it. It will officially declare the end of the police regime and proclaim respect for all democratic liberties.

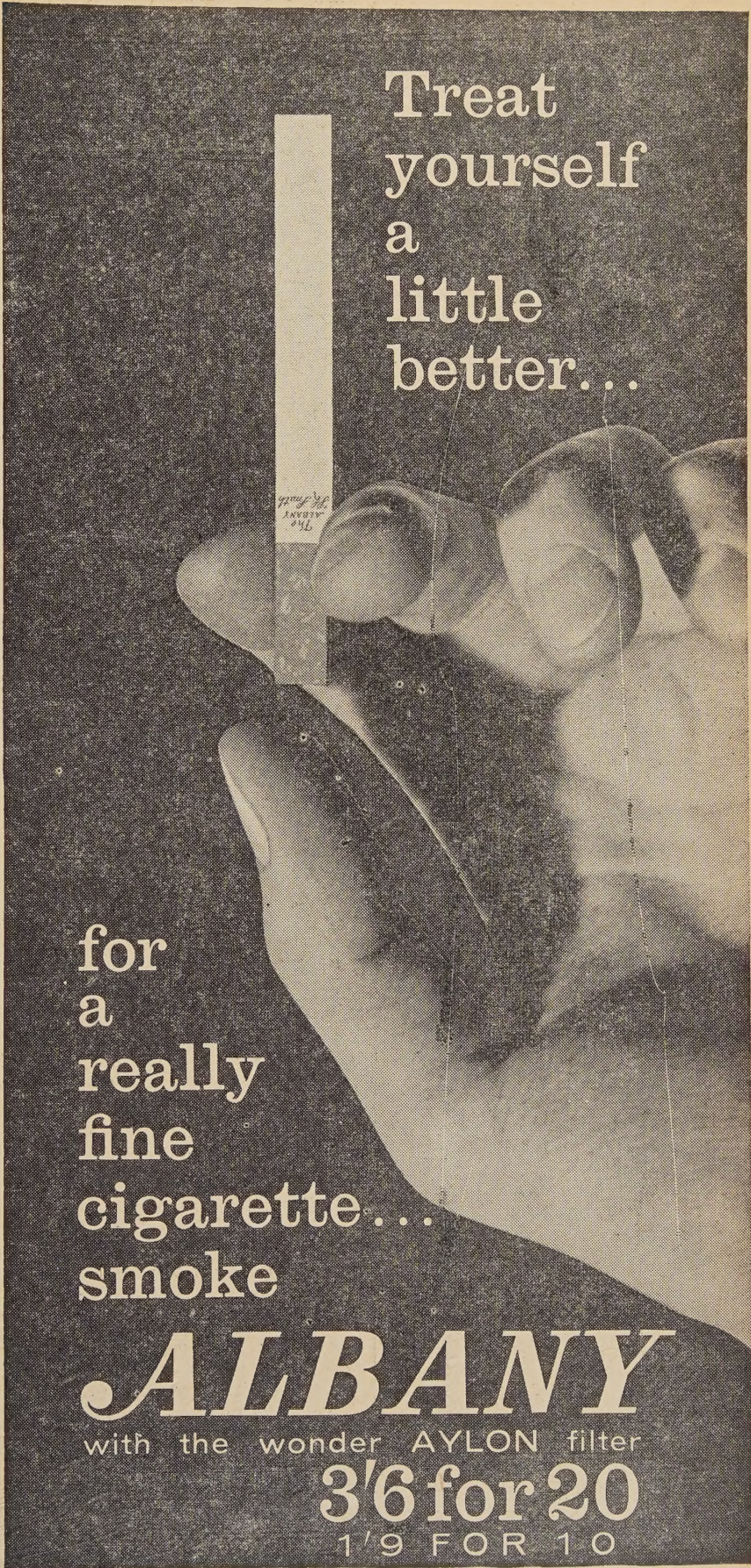
Charter for Syria : Some special effort is being made to acknowledge the discontent of the Syrians who are openly saying they have never been so unhappy at any period of their history. But close associates of Nasser say that its true aim is to show Kassem what the Egyptians can do and to demonstrate to the Iraqis that Nasser is much more liberal than Kassem is. The prospect now is that we shall have a bit of constitutional competition between the two countries. (The Iraqis have a constitution of their own in the making.)

The Egyptians have also been giving a lot of consideration to a new economic charter for Syria. A Swedish expert, Bennett Hansen, has been making an on-the-spot study of changes that are necessary to introduce a more liberal system. He is the director of the Stockholm Institute of Economic Research and has an international reputation as a planner on a large scale.

His preliminary report is being kept under lock and key, but I gather that he has proposed the usual sort of five-year plan demanding an outlay of a milliard Syrian pounds, the government to supply 1,720 millions and the rest to be secured by way of loan.

New generation : The money is to be divided between eight branches of the economy: irrigation and land reclamation; agriculture; industry, transport and communications; education; housing; "places of amusement"; and renewal of stocks. The last three are to be financed entirely from "private" sources—which probably accounts for the latest Presidential decrees putting a stop on the outflow of private capital.

Nasser is fully aware of the difficulties in Syria and the unpopularity there of his regime, but there is no power strong enough to loosen the bonds which the Egyptian officer corps has secured around the Syrian people and army. Many of the Egyptians have married into families of the old regime and already there is a new generation of Egypto-Syrians growing up. But what they will inherit still remains in the balance.



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from our own correspondent

New York :

To the Abergs of Sweden and the Milers of Texas who use the postal services to distribute their hate literature in the United States, must now be added the British National Party with an office at 74 Princedale Road, London, W.11.

This group is mailing to the United States, from Coventry, unsealed printed-matter envelopes bearing no return address but carrying two of that organisation's pamphlets. One is an 8½ x 5½-inch leaflet on newsprint, headed "The Jews Take Over." It says:

"While Tory and Labour talk and shadow-box, the Jews who finance them both, are taking over Britain

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PEACE-MONGERING A WORTHIER PURPOSE

Secretary of State Dean Rusk watches the swearing-in of William B. Macomber (left), new U.S. Ambassador to Jordan

and ruling behind the scenes. Labour leader Harold Wilson has himself admitted this—the elected representative of the people were urged to get excited about the levy on horse-racing or an underground car park. But the real decisions were being taken by the Clores, Cottons, Lazards and Warburgs. (House of Commons, 2nd November, 1960).

"While the Wolfsons, Bernsteins, Sieffs, Samuels expand, the British traders decrease, while Jewish millionaires enjoy luxury, Britons go short. Join us in the fight against Jewish control and exploitation."

A "Jewish conspiracy": The second enclosure is a four-page tabloid, marked "The Eichmann Trial . . . Jews and Atrocities." It is advertised as a "Combat" supplement, "compiled by Colin Jordan, with a contribution by Peter Ling, and was edited by John Bean."

Taking the front page of the Daily Express of August 1, 1947, with the banner headline "Hanged Britons: Picture will shock the world" and with the picture of two British soldiers hanged near Natanya, the supplement sets out to malign the Jews for their campaign against the Mandatory government in Palestine.

It goes on with a page "Jews Massacre Arabs" containing "reports" on Deir Yassin and Kibya, with references to the death of Count Bernadotte, and other articles all of which display scepticism that six million Jews died in Europe at the hands of the Nazis.

Can't be stopped: Typical of the contents is this extract: "The Eichmann show trial has been designed as a great counter-measure against the growing anti-Jewish

feeling throughout the world. The Jews aim to revitalise their vicious propaganda against the Nazis in order to smear and discredit, by association, and every form of criticism and opposition to their world power . . .

"At the end of the war, in order to justify it and to discredit the Nazis, Jewish propaganda culminated in the great lie that six million Jews had been exterminated . . ."

How many 2½d stamps the British National Party has spent on mailing muck like this to the U.S., it is impossible to say. Nor is there very much the postal authorities can do about it. They only have power to seize material defined as pornographic.

Powerless: The only counter-measure is greater emphasis on education against bigotry, and this was underlined at the session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights which has just ended here. A resolution, proposed by India and amended during the debate, urges governments and all others concerned to fight for the eradication of racial prejudice and national and religious intolerance and the elimination of all undesirable influences promoting them.

It also calls on governments to rescind discriminatory laws, prohibit such discrimination and "discourage in every possible way the creation, propagation and dissemination, in whatever form, of such prejudices and intolerances . . ."

However, until the happy day that legislation is universally adopted, it seems that we are powerless to halt the flow—at least from this end—of material such as that being shipped out from London, W.11.

IN THE NEWS

BROADCASTS FROM ISRAEL

WHEN THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL meets in Jerusalem next month, I hope it will find time in between its negotiations for a new Executive, to devote a few moments to the projection of its own image to the Jewish world at large. The Jewish Agency concluded an agreement with the Israel Broadcasting Service last year whereby this function was taken over by the Overseas Service of the I.B.S. The Agency's contribution to this service was fairly considerable, in the region of £300,000, I believe. In fact, this constitutes a very large proportion of the money spent by the Jewish Agency on information.

Now these things are not easily improvised. They take time to develop. Personnel and technical problems have to be overcome. But there comes a moment when one begins to expect some return. And, so far, I can see very little. The technical quality of the English transmissions from Jerusalem is first class. Reception could hardly be better even in the heart of London. This makes the quality of the content of the broadcasts all the more infuriating. What do people want to hear from an Israeli transmission in order to induce them to switch off the peak hour programmes on television or the home radio? In the first place, I would say, more up-to-date and more complete news of what is going on in Israel; and, at times like this, an objective reflection of Israeli press and public comment. But you get none of this.

I have tried many times lately, at the height of the political crisis, to find out what is happening. What does Israel tell you? The latest news on the fighting in Laos, or a summary of the Commonwealth Premiers' discussion, or some pro-Israeli quotations from a magazine appearing in New York. Or, if you want comments, I collected two last week when Israel was in the centre of the news: one dealt with a discussion meeting on Bible research which had taken place some four weeks earlier; the other was an interview about the economic condition of Falasha Jews in Ethiopia.

JACOB HODESS

THE FORTY OR SO people present at Tuesday's memorial meeting for Jacob Hodess were clearly unanimous in their agreement with the tributes paid by the



I.B.S. CHIEF GIVTON
Are vested interests interfering?

Israel Ambassador, Arthur Lourie, Sir Barnett Janner, M.P., Woolf Perry, Mrs. Robert Solomon and Dr. S. Levenberg. Hodess's gentleness, kindness and sense of humour were stressed by all the speakers. That he was a "storehouse of Zionism", as Arthur Lourie put it, and that Zionism "was his life", as Dr. Levenberg said, were facts that everyone who had anything to do with Hodess can vouch for. Mrs. Robert Solomon praised Hodess and his journal *New Judea*, and voiced the feelings of those present when she

ended her tribute with a plea that Mrs. Hodess, now left alone in Jerusalem, should be made aware of the feeling of loss her husband's death had left and should be helped to overcome her loneliness. I could not help wishing, though, that some of these expressions of appreciation had reached Jack Hodess in some more tangible form while he was still alive.

GOLDMANN'S EIGHTEEN DEFINITIONS

I HAVE BEEN reading the transcript of an interview which Nahum Goldmann gave recently on German television. It was one of Goldmann's most brilliant and scintillating performances. He clearly felt very much at ease with these almost philosophic German questions and discussed the differences between being a Jew and being an Israeli. This led his questioner to press him for definition of what is a Jew?

In his reply, Goldmann explained how as a young man he had been brought up on the German philosophers, which meant that he had to have a definition for everything. One day he began to add up the different definitions of a Jew; there were eighteen of them—and they settled nothing. He concluded, therefore, true to his German training, that the only possible definition was that the Jew was undefinable. It is this constant twist of the unexpected in Goldmann's career, that keeps bringing him back into the news. Next month, he has promised to



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tell the Israelis whether he will settle in the country and lead the new Liberal Party, or not. But the Electoral Law won't permit him to stand as a candidate for the next Knesset because he was not a permanent resident on December 30.

The man who will have a decisive say in Goldmann's future with the new Liberal Party is Mapai leader Moshe Sharett. If he agrees to serve as Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive and relieve Goldmann in this field, then Goldmann may accept the post and introduce an important new factor into the coming General Election. But what will Sharett decide?

NASSER'S NEW MAN IS RUSSIAN EXPERT

PRESIDENT NASSER'S FIRST ambassador to London since the Suez affair, Moham-

med el-Khouni, has a reputation as a hard worker, an efficient administrator and a tough negotiator. He is one of the few old school career diplomats in the Egyptian foreign service who was kept on by the revolutionary regime, a fact for which he probably has to thank Foreign Minister Fawzi who holds him in high regard. It was apparently Fawzi who advised his posting to Moscow, where he has spent the last four years and, in the process, established himself as the most efficient Russian expert in the Egyptian diplomatic service.

He is an active diplomat and there is no reason to suppose he will be any less so in his new post. Diplomats who knew him in Moscow predict that he will make many friends in the Foreign Office (and elsewhere) as he is a little out of the ordinary and quite different from his predecessors, who usually filled the Embassy with special friends or business acquaint-



AMBASSADOR EL-KHOUNI AND WIFE
A smiling start...

ances who might put them on to a good thing when they returned home at the end of their tour of duty.

One of el-Khouni's most immediate tasks in London will be to press the British Government to allow the establishment of U.A.R. consulates in those predominantly Moslem territories still under British control. This is the sort of assignment he likes to get his teeth into and I wouldn't be surprised if he had some success. He has been given strict instructions, however, not to trade this demand for the establishment of a British consulate in Aleppo, one of the weakest links in Nasser's chain and an area in which a British diplomat could count on finding many friends. A British consulate in Port Said has also been ruled out, for the obvious reasons.

One of el-Khouni's major assets is his wife—a sister of a former Prime Minister and a woman of considerable intelligence. It will be interesting to see how they make out in London. Before leaving Cairo, el-Khouni proclaimed himself "very optimistic" on the promotion of political, economic and cultural relations between the two countries. Certainly both countries are giving their envoys a fair start: an arrangement has apparently been made for the B.B.C. to show a film about el-Khouni and for Egyptian television to transmit a programme about Sir Harold Beeley. But it is going to take a lot more than this to wipe away the mutual suspicion which is still present not very far below the diplomatic surface.

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ARAB WORLD

SAUDI ENTENTE WITH THE YEMEN?

KING TIDIES UP THE ROUGH EDGES

from our own correspondent

Cairo :

No one outside of Cairo seems to be aware of the fact, but we have recently celebrated the third anniversary of the establishment of the "United Arab States," a paper edifice bearing the signatures of President Nasser and the Imam Ahmed of Yemen.

Signed in the first flush of excitement which marked the proclamation of the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria, it has since become a piece of meaningless terminology. Watching the pattern of development in Syria, the Imam was quick to realise that unification meant domination, and took the matter no further.

In this he was supported by the Soviet Union, which repaid Nasser for his introduction to the Imam by advising the Yemen to hold itself aloof and made this aloofness worthwhile with massive financial and military assistance.

Plan for action : Now the Imam has further emphasised his independence by initiating secret negotiations with King Saud of Saudi Arabia. First contacts were made by members of the Imam's family, Princes Abdar-Rahman and Hassan Ibn Ali. They took with them to Riyadh a plan for common action to improve the prosperity of their people "in accordance with the religion of Islam."

Both rulers are Moslem fanatics faced with the pressures of peoples stirring uneasily in their medieval squalor. However, Saud does not want to enter into any arrangement with the Yemen unless he can be certain that he carries potentially troublesome sheikhdoms with him. He could not afford the embarrassment of opposition from minor provinces along his border.

This accounts for his recent visit to Doha in the company of a collection of ministers, a dozen emirs and a retinue of sixty "other ranks."

25 years—or death : But he faces not only external dangers. Some measure of extremist nationalist pressure within Saudi Arabia could be gauged from last week's order to the United States to yield its airbase at Dhahran on the Persian Gulf.



DEFENCE MINISTER MOHAMMED IBN SAUD
Father has the last say

And an inkling of coming troubles even within the ranks of Saud's hand-picked Cabinet was contained in a massive document issued a fortnight ago entitled: "Law on the Trial of Ministers." In three sections and 27 articles, this provides for a minimum penalty of 25 years imprisonment and a maximum of execution for any of the following: attempting to change the monarchy; high treason; exposing the State's internal security, safety and unity to danger; undermining the armed forces.

High treason is defined as any of the following: bearing arms against the State; helping another State to stage aggressive actions against the State; facilitating an enemy's entry into the country; surrendering cities, fortifications, installations, positions, harbours, factories, ships, aircraft, instruments, ammunition, food supplies and means of communications to the enemy; inciting troops or civilians to join the enemy, helping the enemy's advance by sowing intrigue, and spreading fear by various means; disclosing secrets of the country's defence and conveying them to a foreign State, personally or by other means.

Choice of guilts: Other, and momentarily more pertinent clauses, provide sentences of up to ten years for offences ranging from using an official position to obtain personal benefit to disclosing details of Cabinet meetings. It will be for the Cabinet to decide whether a minister should stand trial. Any person sentenced may appeal direct to the King who can commute sentences or issue pardons.

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measure yet introduced by Saudi Arabia's feudal monarchy. But the reforms have been granted only in exchange for a tightening of the King's restrictive control. Under one heading or another, it would be possible to prosecute—and execute—almost any Cabinet Minister.

But in Cairo some other explanations have been given for the promulgation of the new law at this time. If Saud is to go into alliance with the Yemen, it is suggested, then he is wise to protect himself against the Soviet influences which will undoubtedly be introduced by this alliance. It is, say some Cairenes, a wise precaution.

Much to impress: Undoubtedly, there is something very tempting about the amount of assistance the Yemen has received from Russia. Whatever the Americans have brought to Saudi Arabia has been to facilitate the operation and maintenance of their oil installations. There is no such apparent material basis to Soviet aid to the Imam Ahmed. The political considerations, King Saud seems to feel, have been well covered by his new law.

Certainly, if he goes to Yemen he will see much to impress him. With the building up of the modern part of Hodeidah, and the "accidental" burning down of the old town, the Imam has been able to make use of some of the transport and communications equipment that has been made available to him by the Russians. The results in this backward region are quite striking.



ARAB LEAGUE FOREIGN MINISTERS IN BAGHDAD
A planned demonstration of unity—was anyone convinced?

Indeed, the advanced state of these improvements, and the new initiative taken by the Yemen for closer contacts with Saudi Arabia, suggest a cunning Russian hand in the background. It is beginning to look as if Saud will soon be ready to clasp it.

MOSUL A DIVIDED CITY

REFLECTION OF THE ARAB WORLD OUTSIDE

from our own correspondent

Baghdad :

The cost of security measures to keep General Kassem in power must by now be stupendous. The only possible way to get any idea of what is involved is to embark on the hazardous adventure of cross-country travelling, preferably, as I have just done, to Mosul.

Even when you are armed with each one of the necessary security passes, the number of obstacles, physical and otherwise, with which you have to contend are fantastic. The road outside Baghdad is an armed camp. Every possible vantage point is heavily guarded.

This impression of a country engaged in war is heightened by a stay in Mosul where conditions are very unsettled. It is comparatively easy to keep Basra down for a time, but you cannot do this in Mosul, where anti-Kassemism is now the predominant sentiment amongst more

than three-quarters of the inhabitants.

Beleaguered city: The Mosul communists, at one time wholeheartedly for Kassem, are now against him. This is not to say that they are pro-Nasser, for there is a strong element which is pro-Russian and another which is pro-Turkish. Regrets that the Mosul-vilayet fell to Iraq after the first World War, and subsequently to Kassem, are repeated in many circles.

Just as in the Shi'ite centres in the south, business is at a standstill and night brings to the visitor the feeling of being in a beleaguered city; the shutters and gates are firmly locked and the only sounds to be heard are the barking of hundreds of dogs and the occasional unexplained rifle shot. Dawn often reveals a body shot or knifed in some squalid alley.

But this latter eventuality is not the speciality of Mosul—Baghdad and Basra provide their fair share of morning corpses. Probably Sulimaniya is the cleanest spot as far as this kind of sport is concerned.

Baathists active: It needs more than a few nights (and mornings) in Mosul to identify the several streams of advanced political thinking that exist there, encouraged by the "heroic" traditions of Rashid Ali (who led the anti-British uprising in 1940) if you like. Encouraged too by Shenshal, and one even hears the name of the London School of Economics' product, Mohammed Hadid (who appears to be most disappointed in the failure of his policies, although his name is not

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BAGHDAD PALACE
A peaked cap for a crown

excluded from a list of future Prime Ministers).

But the most active of all, without a doubt, are the secret cells of the strange mixture of nationalism, socialism and Nasserism which has become Iraqi "Baathism," and which is backed now by some of the military. As confidence grows, so does the organisation spread its tentacles, and I got the impression that the guts of the anti-Kassem movement (or movements) in Mosul are provided by a Baathist organisation of some strength and some means.

If there is to be a "next move" of any significance, I see it coming from the Baath. But whether or not, the result of this instability and dissatisfaction has led to the most extraordinary chaos imaginable, propped up by British oil money.

Bourguiba no one's fool: The division that one notices in Mosul on the local scene is but a reflection of the division that exists nationally in the Arab world. The conference of Arab military experts to be held in Cairo later this month, and for which everyone is now preparing, will no doubt bring out the same divisionist tendencies.

Kassem's sole purpose in inviting the Arab League Council to hold its last meeting here was to demonstrate that, while Nasser was engaged in disuniting the Arabs, his purpose was to unite them. That Hussein and Kassem can join hands and try to win over Bourguiba is a step forward—but I am positive that Bourguiba has far too great a character of his own, has plans of his own, is a tremendous individualist and will never look east while he has a chance to make

deals with the west, for his heart is with the west and he is just as well informed on Iraq, Syria and Egypt as anyone else.

Kassem, and his Foreign Minister, Jawwad, are trying to show the Arab world that they are not opposed to Nasser, that there is no campaign of hostility in Iraq against Egypt; that rather they are trying to create a field of peace and an atmosphere of amity. Competition without invective is something that Nasser has never had to face up to. He might be able to meet the challenge—but can the "Voice of the Arabs" retain its audience on a diet of peace and politeness?

For the Arabs to settle: And in what are they to compete? Whereas Nuri Said, probably inspired by London, placed the communist peril at the top of his list of priorities, Kassem and Nasser place Zionism or Israel at the top of their lists, and hope to use it to achieve some kind of unity under their own particular leadership.

Nuri always thought that the Palestine affair could and should be adjusted by the west and not by the Arabs, and this is where the main change in policy has been noticed. Kassem and Jawwad have been at work on a policy for Palestine for some time. At the inter-Arab level they are trying to establish some sort of confidence amongst the other countries that they can lean on Iraq as the real champion of the Palestine Arabs.

Israel, or Palestine, they argue, must be settled by the Arabs and not by the west. But the only Arab country that can be relied upon to settle the problem without honing to gain territorially is Iraq. It is the kind of line which, if plugged long enough and if Nasser continues to put his foot in it in Syria, Lebanon and elsewhere, may well make its mark.

Russians play it well: It is impossible to get away from the Israel theme. It is worth bearing in mind that the constitutional governments of Syria and Egypt were destroyed in 1949 and 1952 on account of the Palestinian failures. In 1950, 1951, 1954 and 1955, western schemes to build up a defence system in the Middle East—most notably the Baghdad Pact—broke down mainly because of the Palestine problem. The Arabs made it abundantly clear that they felt the danger posed by Israel was greater than that offered by communism.

By now, the west has come to realise this. Iraq, Iran and Egypt have all shown that, when they want to, they can clamp down on their communists but without having to break with Russia. Russia is a useful element on several scores and the Russians have so far shown how clever they can be in not pressing too hard for the recognition of those who favour communism.

All the coups d'état or revolutions in the Middle East, which have rapidly weakened the hold of the west in the region, have had as their motive force anti-Zionism or anti-imperialism. To a great extent they have succeeded in defeating the secondary enemy, imperialism. But the primary target—Zionism—remains.

Strength—and weakness: Since the creation of Israel and the revolutions which have followed, the Arab regards his position in relation to Zionism as having been improved for several reasons. No Arab state need any longer feel itself tied on the question of Israel because of its association with the west. Any Arab state can get Russian arms and training for the asking.

The balance of power achieved by the Russians in the Middle East since 1955 is to the advantage of the Arabs and they know it. Russia's continuing attitude of hostility toward Israel is a moral support to the Arab states. Their position in the U.N. has been improved by the addition of new African states.

But there are things which hold them back, despite these apparent gains. While the Arab League makes a lot of fuss about the Jordan waters, the Arab refugees and a host of other things, Israel is discovered to have developed considerable research facilities for atomic energy (and goodness knows what else). While Nasser and Kassem vie with each other to be king of the castle, the Shah of Iran makes it clear that he has no intention of withdrawing his *de facto* recognition of Israel or of halting oil supplies to the Jewish State.

Martyrdom: These are facts which drive deep into the Arab conscience and shake their confidence in their ability to tackle the Israel problem. The man brave enough to face up to the task will—the Arabs say—deserve martyrdom. And many are the muted voices which add—"and he'll probably get it."

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ISRAEL

"YES, WE KNEW EICHMANN"

PROSECUTION WITNESSES' BACKGROUND STORIES

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem :

Soon after the publication of the charge sheet against Adolf Eichmann, Police Bureau 06, which had been specially set up for his interrogation, was formally wound up.

The Bureau's staff, however, are still hard at work in the prison fortress in the north of Israel, translating the three thousand pages of memoirs which Eichmann wrote in his cell, as well as the mass of documents in the prosecution's case.

From the published list of witnesses, it appears that these documents will be used as the main evidence to prove Eichmann's direct responsibility for the crimes alleged against him, since only about a third of the thirty-nine witnesses actually met Eichmann; the others will apparently be called to testify to acts of persecution which they saw or suffered.

Photographs of atrocities: Three of them, Esther Lurie, Ada Lichtmann, and Yehuda Bakon, are artists. Esther Lurie in particular has become known as a painter of ghettos. Ada Lichtmann literally earned her survival by her art. She drew portraits for German officers and managed to survive several "selections".

Whether their drawings of ghetto and camp scenes will be admissible as evidence is not yet clear, but a fourth witness, Leon Kapun, is one of the few who managed to take and preserve photographs of Nazi atrocities.

One of the most prominent of the "live" witnesses is Benno Cohn, the last chairman of the pre-Nazi German Zionist Movement, who met Eichmann for the first time at a Zionist meeting in Berlin in 1936.

Kicked in stomach: Eichmann was there to check up on the proceedings, and in the crowded hall he was kicked in the stomach, an incident which he recalled when Cohn saw him again in his prison cell in Israel a quarter of a century later.

Cohn made a positive identification of Eichmann, but, he said, the Nazi's manner had changed. At their last meeting in 1939, when Eichmann had informed



DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL GAVRIEL BACH
Author of the Eichmann indictment

a group of Jewish leaders assembled in Berlin of the opening of the *Reichswanderungsamt* (Reich Migration Office), he had been brutal and aggressive. In his cell he was "well-mannered, submissive, broken".

Dr. Walter Lindenstrauss was one of the group of German Jewish leaders summoned by Eichmann early in 1939 to the Rothschild Palace in Vienna, where he had set up the *Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung* (Central Office for Jewish Emigration).

Conveyor belt: "You in the Altreich (pre-Anschluss Germany) are much too slow!" he said, and ordered them to copy his methods in Vienna where Jewish emigration was proceeding at a forced pace.

As one writer described it, the Gestapo officials in the Rothschild Palace handled Jews by the conveyor belt system: at one end they entered with their property but no passport; after being dealt with at half a dozen different desks, they left with passport and exit visas—but minus their property.

At that time, it must be remembered, the Nazi leadership had not yet decided on the physical destruction of all Jews. They wanted to rid Germany of her Jewish population in the conviction that they would then "infect" the foreign countries which gave them refuge.

"Dig": Another witness who once met Eichmann face to face is Dr. Hugo

(Continued on page 20)

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	Seedless Raisins " "						Cooking Salt 1½ lb. Pkts.				
	Stoned Raisins " "										
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	Prunes (Large) 12 oz. Pkts.						'Goldana' Margarine ½ lb. Pkts.				
	Fruit Salad (Evapor.) 8 oz. Pkts.						'Goldana' Cooking Fat " "				
	Almonds (Ground) 4 oz. Tubs										
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							Olive Oil 6 oz. Bottles				
	JAMS						Nut Oil 1 gallon Cans				
	Strawberry Jam 1 lb. Jars						Nut Oil 1 quart Bottles				
	Raspberry Jam " "						Nut Oil 1 pint Bottles				
	Blackcurrant Jam " "						Nut Oil ½ pint Bottles				
	Apricot Jam " "										
	Orange Marmalade " "						SOAPS				
	Ginger Marmalade " "						"Frum" Liquid Squeeze Bottles				
	Pure Honey (Thick) " "						"Frum" Cleanser Sprinkler Top Drums				
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	Gooseberry Jam " "						"Frum" Soap Filled Pads 5-Pad size				
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	SPICES										
	Ginger (Ground) 1 oz. Drums						CANDLES				
	Mixed Spice (Ground) " "						Memorial Lights Glasses				
	Cinnamon (Ground) " "						Memorial Lights (Refills)				
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	SUNDRIES						White Candles (S) S16 " " "				
	Potato Crisps 4d. Pkts.						White Candles (S) S20 " " "				
	Farina (Potato Flour) 8 oz. Pkts						"Brytlite" Triangle Candles (6 Candles)				

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Kratky. He was one of the thousand Jews deported by the Germans from Moravska-Ostrava in Czechoslovakia to Poland.

Eichmann received them after they had been taken off the train miles from anywhere, and ordered them to build their own concentration camp. When they told him that they had had no water during the whole journey, Eichmann's reply was: "Dig".

Memories of the Gruenwald-Kastner case are certain to be revived by the testimony of three Budapest witnesses—Yoel Brand and his wife Hansi (members of the Budapest Jewish Rescue Committee) and Philip Freudiger.

"Blood for goods": Unless Eichmann himself takes the stand, their testimony will probably provide some of the most dramatic moments of the trial, for it was in Budapest that Eichmann negotiated with what he thought was "world Jewry" on the sale of a million Jewish lives for 10,000 trucks.

"Blood for goods, goods for blood" he told Yoel Brand, and sent him on a German plane to Istanbul to get in touch with the Jewish Agency there. But Brand was arrested by the British in Syria and imprisoned in Cairo.

Opening mass graves: Perhaps the most shocking story will be told in court by witness No. 34, Avraham Krassik. In the early part of 1944, when the Germans

realised that they had lost the war, and the Russians were continuously advancing, special S.S. units were sent out to obliterate all traces of the mass murders committed by the *Einsatzgruppen* (operational groups) during the German conquest of the *Ostgebiete* (Eastern territories).

Krassik and 70 other Jews from the Bialystok ghetto were spared immediate execution by shooting and, instead, were put to work under S.S. supervision, opening up mass graves, pulling out the corpses and counting them. (Usually they counted only heads, because many of the corpses had been dismembered).

Afterwards, they made bonfires of the bodies. To make recognition quite impossible, burnt bones were crushed and passed through large sieves and the dust scattered on the ground. Occasionally, they discovered their own relatives and friends among the bodies they excavated.

Sole survivor: When the Bialystok Jews had completed their ghastly task, burning some 20,000 bodies, their own turn came for liquidation. The S.S. men marched them towards a pit which they themselves had dug and opened fire from behind. Krassik tumbled into the pit, got up again, fell several times over his comrades' bleeding bodies, was wounded in the back and face but ran on until he reached the safety of a forest. He was the only survivor.



EICHMANN'S DEPUTY DEFENCE COUNSEL WECHLENBRUCH WITH GIDEON HAUSNER
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Eichmann in his prison cell did not react at first, when confronted with the witnesses who had come to identify him, but when Moshe Agami (formerly Averbuch) was led in—he shuddered. "That was history turned full circle", Agamai (Witness No. 3) said. "When I called on him in the Vienna Rothschild Palace in 1938, I was shaking." Agami, then already a Palestinian citizen, had been sent by the Jewish Agency to get Eichmann's permission for the establishment of pioneering training centres (*hachsharot*). Eichmann agreed, but ordered Agami's deportation a few weeks later.

As the trial gets under way in Jerusalem's Beth Ha'am, and the long story unfolds, one thing is certain—the evidence will be the most harrowing since the days of Nuremberg, fifteen years ago.

CHANGES IN THE PARTIES

NEW GROUPINGS FOR THE ELECTIONS

from Yohanan Ramati

Jerusalem :

Now that elections have become inevitable, and all parties are feverishly preparing for the test in August, it is important to realise the enormous changes that have taken place in the country's political atmosphere and structure.

Outwardly, there is a deceptive sameness about the various party newspapers, statements and meetings, but hardly a single party is today the same as it was when Israel last went to the polls in November 1959.

The adverse effects of the "Lavon Affair" have received plenty of publicity. Yet one fundamental process appears to have been set into motion by the "Affair's" repercussions, and few Israelis will shed any tears over it. The factionalism, which has for so long been the outstanding characteristic of political life here, is at last in retreat. It is almost as if the shock of Mapai's internal troubles has provided a catalyst, making the smaller parties eager to unite wherever the least ideological basis for unity has existed.

Rigid communists : Only the Communists have not changed. Their line will always be rigid, because the reins are held elsewhere. Their non-Zionist background does not encourage others to co-operate with them in any way. They remain isolated, unproductive, unhappy and—with their 3 Knesset seats out of 120, which, incidentally, they are unlikely to add to—utterly unimportant.

Mapam and Ahdut Avoda split apart before the end of the Second Knesset's tenure. Today they are talking seriously about submitting a joint list to the Fifth Knesset. Ahdut Avoda has some doubts about this, since some of its members feel that it may be easier to attract votes away from Mapai if Ahdut Avoda remains wholly independent.

"Socialist Party" : On the other hand, Mapam has moved away from the extreme pro-Soviet line that characterised it until the arrest of Mordecai Oren and the Slansky trial. On foreign policy there is no real difference between the two parties now.

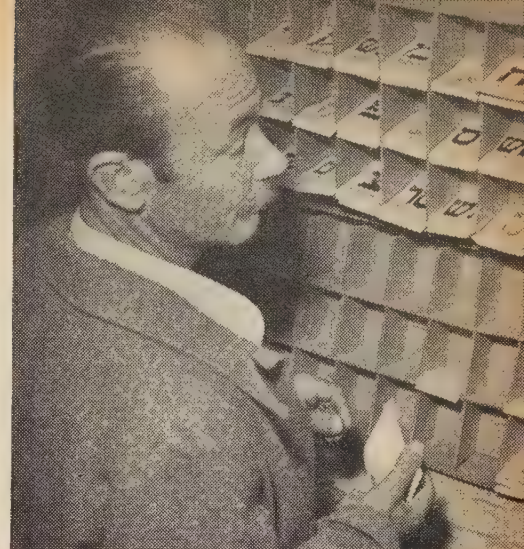
Much the same applies to domestic policy, if minor accents be disregarded. Though each party has a kibbutz movement of its own, even this need not be an insuperable obstacle to unity under present conditions.

Even in Ahdut Avoda, there are an increasing number of people who feel that a large party to the Left of Mapai, with some high-sounding name like "The Israel Socialist Party," might exert more influence on policy than Mapam and Ahdut Avoda acting independently.

Vehement rivalries : The same feeling is shared by many in Mapam. It remains to be seen whether the joint list to the Fifth Knesset will materialise. If it does—and it may—this divorced couple might be re-marrying very soon.

Mapai itself is passing through a crisis, though the fundamental loyalty of its members may pull it through. The unspoken question of the succession has brought to the fore rival personalities, schools of thought and interests.

These rivalries have sometimes been pursued too vehemently. But today, when it is gradually becoming apparent that in-



ELECTION PREPARATIONS
Parties have changed—have the voters?

ternal disunity might lead to a situation in which the succession could fall on somebody outside Mapai altogether, there is the beginning of a trend towards greater cohesion. By August it should be clear whether this trend will prevail over the bitterness shared by Lavon's most extreme supporters and opponents alike. Ben-Gurion's leadership remains unchallenged.

Important development : To Mapai's Right, there has been a development of major significance. The formation of the Liberal Party, which will combine the General Zionists with the Progressives, has created what could become the nucleus of a large party, eventually also embracing Herut.

The attitude of the Progressives to the Government crisis has been the subject of much disparaging talk (Pinhas Rosen's decision not to join a Ben-Gurion Government was followed by his writing a letter to the Mizrahi Bloc leader Moshe Shapiro recommending that the latter *do*

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join such a Government. This sort of logic does not appeal to Israelis).

Nevertheless, there are many who hope that the new party may prove more than the sum total of its parts, attracting voters who previously did not vote for either the Progressives or the General Zionists. The opposing view also has adherents. One, admittedly biased, Left-winger was heard to comment tartly: "Zero plus zero equals zero."

No solid basis: This is unfair, but it remains a fact that—unlike Herut—neither the Progressives nor the General Zionists have hitherto succeeded in gaining a solid basis among the working class or among the Oriental communities. It remains to be seen whether, with circumstances very much in their favour, they will succeed this time. This is likely to determine the relative size of the Liberals and Herut after the election.

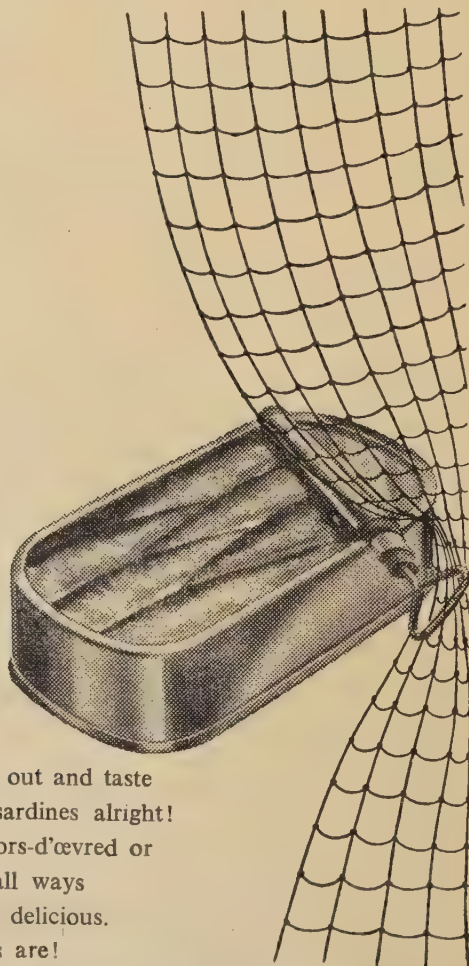
Herut would have liked to enter the partnership, and its entire behaviour since the 1959 election shows that this party is learning the lesson that what it requires is more moderation rather than more extremism. It is being left out more because the Liberals are anxious to leave themselves with the alternative of joining a coalition with Mapai after the election, than because of serious differences of opinion about policy at this stage.

The religious parties were thought by many to be cast in an enduring mould, but even here there has been a minor revolution. The Poale Agudat Israel faction looks like joining the Mizrahi and Hapoel Hamizrachi in what will be the largest religious party yet. The Aguda, left alone, is hoping to gain more votes from the zealously devout. Should this hope not materialise, soul-searching may succeed the present feeling of outrage. The conversion of Poale Agudat Israel to Zionism is an event worthy of note. But the Aguda may not follow in their footsteps for a long time.

No splinter groups: Finally, the twelve splinter groups appearing with lists in the 1959 election are unlikely to renew their efforts to gain a seat. The cost is too much. The cabinet proposed on Sunday that each list must provide a deposit of £10,000 which would be forfeited if a party failed to obtain one per cent of the total poll.

Thus in the 1961 election Mapai may be faced by four large parties—Herut, Liberals, Socialists (Ahduat Avoda plus Mapam) and the National Religious Bloc, and only two small parties—Aguda and the Communists. Israel may be some way from a two-party system, but even a five-party system is an improvement on the past.

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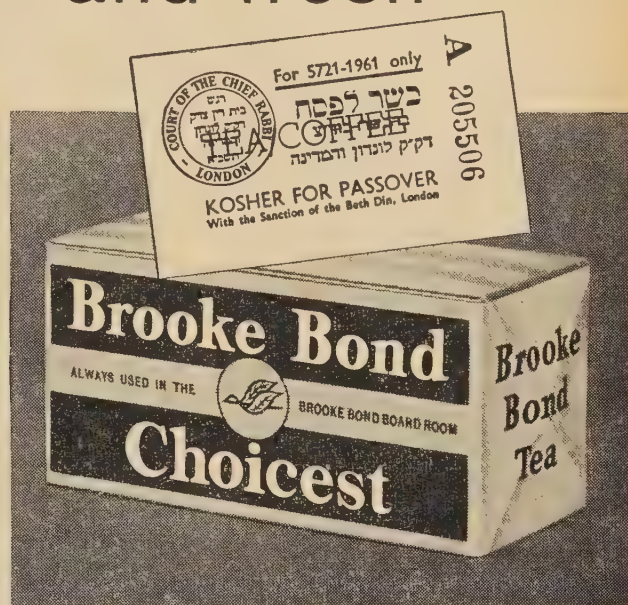
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A Jewish Observer Panorama

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ANGLO-ISRAEL BANK EXPANDS ITS ACTIVITIES

London :

Forming a bridge between Israel and the United Kingdom, and at the same time bringing an international outlook into Israel's trade affairs were the two main functions of the Anglo-Israel Bank, said its general manager, Dr. H. Gruenbaum, in an interview with the JEWISH OBSERVER.

When the bank had first been set up in 1902 as the Anglo-Palestine Bank, the Jewish Colonial Trust, which still owned it, had intended the bank to be the Zionist movement's bank. This it had remained, while at the same time developing into a much wider organisation.

In former days, the bank had been interested mainly in business connected with Israel, which had been pretty well a one-way street, but now the bank had succeeded in branching out with increasing success into both local business in England and foreign banking operations.

Rise in German trade : In addition to being Israel's oldest and biggest bank, with 125 branches there, Bank Leumi le'Israel, whose London business the Anglo-Israel Bank took over in 1959, has fully fledged banking affiliates in Zurich and New York, a representative office in Frankfurt-am-Main (West Germany) and correspondents all over the world.

Foreign associations were important for building up local business, Dr. Gruenbaum said, and relations with the

big Continental banks were close. The Anglo-Israel Bank brought a great deal of business to Europe, since Israel still imported more than she exported.



ANGLO-ISRAEL BANK'S NEW MAIN HALL
Not by citrus alone—other prospects are promising

A general expansion of trade between Israel and Western Germany was foreseen, even after the end of the Repara-

tions Agreement in 1963. Because of this, and in view of the bank's increasing international operations, a Representative Office was functioning in Frankfurt.

Textiles and potash : West Germany was already Europe's biggest buyer (after Britain) of Israeli citrus fruit, and it was hoped to build up the market there for other Israeli products. The bank would play its part in helping this development along.

Advances on account of exports were a regular feature of the bank's business

with Israeli exporters, and in addition the bank accepted and discounted drafts for transactions all over Europe. Until some years ago, citrus was always considered the most important Israeli export, and although it was still Israel's biggest export earner, other commodities were coming to the fore.

To Britain, for instance, the export of textiles, food products, fruit juices and chemicals—particularly potash and bromine—was developing very satisfactorily and there were good prospects of still further expansion. The bank was playing its part in helping this development.

It was also arranging and advising on an increasing number of transactions involving investments in Israel.

Completely mechanised : Michael Silverston, manager of the Anglo-Israel Bank, then reviewed the bank's local activities. All normal banking facilities were available at the bank's new premises in Bread Street, off Cheapside, said Silver-

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GRUENBAUM AND SILVERSTON
An expanding business

ston, and here too expansion was the keynote.

The bank had been completely mechanised, but the expansion of business had necessitated appreciable staff increases. The most up-to-date methods were used by the bank, although these had their drawbacks. When clerks had hand written all their entries, they had been able to make them all through the day, but now that machines did the task, it could not be begun until after the bank had closed to the public at three in the afternoon.

Commenting that the first year of operation under its new name and as a British company (having up till December 1959 been the London branch of Bank Leumi) had shown very satisfactory results, Silverston expressed optimism about the future. The bank, under its chairman, Sir Henry d'Avigdor-Goldsmidt, M.P., looked forward, he said, to considerable development of its existing local business, including merchant banking and trade financing in all directions.

BANK LEUMI TAKES OVER THE UNION BANK

Now that the Palestine Economic Corporation has sold its fifty per cent holding in the Union Bank to Bank Leumi le-Israel, which already owned the other fifty per cent, the Union Bank has become a wholly owned Bank Leumi subsidiary.

The £100 million Union Bank will continue to operate as an independent unit, and commercial and economic circles here are hopeful that it will continue

and widen its independent merchant banking activities, thus giving an extra fillip to the Israel economy.

HEALTH FOODS FOR EXPORT

Rassco has entered the health foods field, a new one for Israel. Together with a group of foreign investors, Rassco has so far invested some £150,000 to set up Bari Ltd. at Azor, near Tel Aviv.

It is hoped to grow many of the herbs and spice-producing plants the company needs in Israel, providing a new source of income for new immigrants. Bari's experts are at present carrying out a survey to find out what already grows in the country and what can be introduced.

Bari has its eye on export markets. where first reactions to its products have been highly favourable. Exports in the first year of operation are expected to reach £500,000.

BARCLAYS BANK ECONOMIC SURVEY

Barclays Bank has just issued as a separate economic survey the section of

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Sunday, March 26

SIXTIETH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE ZIONIST FEDERATION—POALE ZION SESSION. New Community Centre, St. John's Wood Synagogue, 37-41 Grove End Road, N.W.8. Speaker: Dr. S. Levenberg, Elections in Israel and the Crisis in Zionism. In the Chair: Mr. Harold Miller. 10.15 a.m.

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its regular monthly overseas reports that deals with Israel. In addition to giving up-to-date information on subjects like import licences, customs duties, foreign investment, diamonds, foodstuffs, agriculture, and so on, the 24-page booklet, which is illustrated, also gives a resume of the basic facts about Israel—area, population, immigration and climate.

ZIM REDUCES FARES

Visitors to Israel intending to spend Lag Ba'Omer or Shavuot there will be granted a 25 per cent reduction on tickets for two single fares. For Lag Ba'Omer, the offer applies between April 28 and June 2, and for Shavuot from May 14 to June 13.

Barmitzvah boys travelling to Israel in 1961 (the thirteenth year of the State's establishment) to perform the religious ceremony there will also benefit from reductions in the price of their tickets. Every Barmitzvah boy travelling to Israel with his parents will have his fare reduced by 50 per cent.

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ZIONISM

HALEVY TO BE NEXT CHAIRMAN

ERNEST FRANKEL HONOURED

from the Jewish Affairs Reporter

With the withdrawal of Donald Silk and Harold Miller from the contest, the election of Jacob Halevy as the next Chairman of the Zionist Federation is now unopposed and assured at this weekend's conference of the Zionist Federation.

Halevy was born sixty-three years ago at Rishon-le-Zion and has been engaged in educational work most of his life. He was the founder of the Ha-Ivri School in Manchester, and later founded Whittinghame College in Brighton of which he also became the headmaster. He is chairman of the Editorial Board of the JEWISH OBSERVER and also of the British Section of the World Jewish Congress.

Also unopposed is the election of Sidney Shipton as the new Hon. Secretary of the Federation. As a token of their appreciation of the work done by Ernest Frankel, the retiring Hon. Treasurer, the outgoing Council has recommended that he should be made an Hon. Vice-President of the Federation.

Contest of generations: This tribute to Ernest Frankel will be appreciated in Zionist circles here, where Frankel's firm hand did much to place many a jittery account on a firm financial basis. But his work for the British settlers and kibbutzim in Israel will be most remembered and appreciated.

He did more than anyone else to create the close working link between the Federation at home and its work in Israel and he will no doubt continue to keep a watchful eye on its future progress.

A keen contest between the generations is promised for the succession to Frankel. Donald Silk has evidently decided to gain more experience in the ranks before contesting the chairmanship. After his tenure as secretary, he is now standing for treasurer, but he is opposed by the veteran Maurice Cohen.

Day school plans: There is also a record number of candidates for the Executive Council; forty-five competing for the twenty London seats, and nineteen for the fifteen provincial places.

But the main interest of the conference will centre on a number of discussions that will take place on issues which are in the forefront of the Federation's work. There will be a review of the rapid growth of the Zionist Federation's Day Schools, together with a forward looking



EDWARD WOLFSON AND DR. LEVENBERG
New problems for the old guard

assessment of future programmes. At least one other, possibly two, new schools are planned for the coming year.

Rather more controversial may be the discussion on immigration and especially on the emphasis that should be put on the pioneering aspects of immigration.

Under pressure: Considerable interest will also be focused on the General Zionist session on Sunday morning when the British section of the Confederation of General Zionists will make clear its stand on the proposal that it should

merge with Dr. Neumann's General Zionists.

There is strong opposition to this, despite considerable pressure in its favour. Dr. Goldmann is said to favour such a merger. So does the Israeli Progressive Party. But it is clear that the majority here will be against it.

RICHTIGER— SEPTUAGENARIAN

Conference will also be paying a special tribute to one of its most popular and most constant figures, A. I. Richtiger—though the fact that he celebrates his seventieth birthday this Friday will rightly be greeted with general disbelief. For Richtiger, like Alex Easterman a few weeks ago, is an example of the art of refusing to grow old.

He has been a model of his kind: a labour Zionist and a successful businessman, a man of strong views but always a moderate in their application. Both in his long work for the Poale Zion and in the interest which he took in training and preparation for immigration, he has become one of the pillars of the Federation.

He has endeared himself to all who have come into contact with him by his modesty, good humour and common sense approach. And above all, he demonstrated, when his period of chairmanship was over, that this need not mean an end to active work in the Z.F.

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| 1. The Political Situation in Israel | ... | ... | ... | ... | Mr. P. MERHAV |
| 2. Mapam Activities in Gt. Britain | ... | ... | ... | ... | Mr. S. MARCUS |
| 3. "Friends of New Outlook" | ... | ... | ... | ... | Dr. M. LEVIN |
| 4. Hashomer Hatzair Activities | ... | ... | ... | ... | Mr. Y. COHEN |

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DEVELOPMENT

SAPIR SEES STILL BRIGHTER PROSPECTS

MORE JOBS AND WORK IN INDUSTRY

Industrial expansion, increased foreign investment in Israel and rising exports were the highlights of the economic situation in Israel in 1960, declared Minister of Commerce and Industry Pinhas Sapir, in a review of the country's economic progress.

In 1958, the value of industrial production had been £1,700 million. By 1959, this figure had increased to close on £2,000 million, and 1960 saw a further rise—to £2,250 million. For this year he predicted a further expansion to at least £2,500 million.

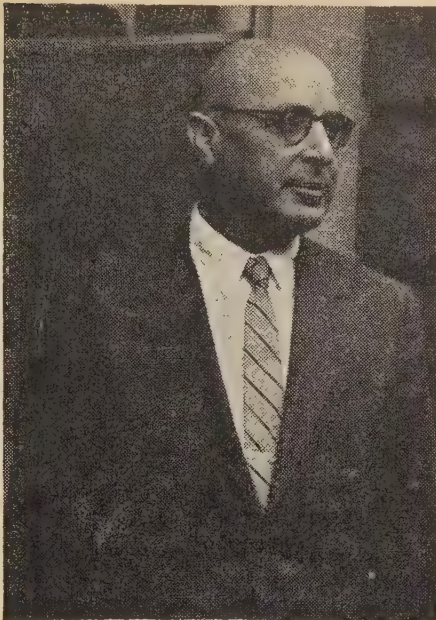
The Government's campaign to encourage local and foreign investment had been highly effective. As its instrument in the investment drive the Government had gone into partnership with other groups to set up the Industrial Development Bank, with a total capital of £110 million.

Spur to investors: The establishment of the Investment Authority had also acted as a spur to investors. In 1960, 440 projects—more than twice as many as in 1959—were approved by the Investment Centre, to a total of \$106 million.

Turning to exports, Sapir pointed out that industrial exports made up 70 per cent of the total and went to more than ninety countries throughout the world. In the two years from 1958 to 1960, their value had almost doubled, from \$82 million to more than \$150 million.

Industrial exports had risen at an even faster rate than industrial production, which had itself been outstanding. Over the last three years, Israel's industries had increased output by 13-16 per cent a year, but industrial exports had risen by 35-40 per cent.

Quarter exported: By last year, the country was exporting almost a quarter of its entire industrial output (23 per cent), and more than a sixth of its industrial work force (30,000 out of 170,000) were employed in export manufacture.



PINHAS SAPIR

More invested and more to invest in

The way Israel's increased exports and imports were helping to build up the country's ports was emphasised by the case of Elath. In 1957, Elath handled 47,000 tons of cargo. This figure had increased to 128,000 tons in 1959 and 160,000 tons last year.

Sapir concluded his review by surveying Israel's industrial development in the last two years. Instead of the predicted increase in output of 10 per cent, it had risen by 15 per cent in 1959 and 13 per cent in 1960. In terms of value, the \$3,000 million mark would be reached by 1963, a year earlier than had been forecast.

Changed situation: As far as the labour force was concerned, the situation had changed radically during recent years. Instead of a surplus of workers, the country now had a surplus of jobs.

NOW—CITIES IN THE NEGEV

LACHISH DEVELOPER DIRECTS MASSIVE NEW PROJECT

An industrial city of 10,000 souls in the northern Negev within five years—that is the first aim of a new development project to be launched next month. The pilot city, to be followed by four others

in the Judean plain and the area south of Hebron, will be sited east of Beersheba and within 12 miles of the Dead Sea.

Long dreamed of by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, the Negev cities plan is being directed by Arie Eliav, the man primarily responsible for the development of the Lachish region, itself a testimony to the achievement of the impossible.

A small party of technicians will be moving next month into a village of huts on a plain close to the buried ruins of the Canaanite kingdom of Arad. There they will plan work and living facilities for the first hundred or so citizens of the new Arad, and the newcomers will in turn prepare the way for the thousands who are expected to follow them.

Petro-chemical industry: Arad and the chain of new towns which are to follow it will be almost wholly industrial in composition. Arad itself lies in the centre of an oil exploration area where commercially exploitable quantities of methane gas have already been discovered. These natural resources coupled with the accessibility of Dead Sea potash supplies will provide the basis for a massive petro-chemical industry.

Houses, roads, pipelines are already in an advanced stage of planning and Arad's developers are even at this juncture surveying tourist possibilities. There is, for example, a vast area of hidden archaeological treasures awaiting discovery and the nearby Dead Sea provides an unusual setting for swimmers.

So far, the officials concerned have not said much publicly about their plans, but one apparently well-based report suggests that part of the money necessary for the development will be obtained in the form of a loan from the West German Government.

NEW U.N. TECHNICAL CHIEF

Raymond M. Gautherau, for the past two years head of the French Technical Assistance Mission to Laos, has been named resident representative in Israel of the U.N. Technical Assistance Board.

A planning expert, Gautherau has seen considerable service in former French overseas territories. He will be responsible for an annual U.N. expenditure of more than \$1 million on technical projects in Israel.

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KRUSCHEV PRAISES THE JEWS

WHY WAS REFERENCE CENSORED?

from a student of Soviet Affairs

For the first time in his tenure of office as Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Nikita Krushchev has publicly acknowledged the existence of a separate Jewish nationality in Russia and has praised Jews for doing well the kind of work which, on past occasions, he has accused them of usually shirking.

His words were heard by Jews and their fellow-citizens throughout the Soviet Union in a nationwide broadcast by the Soviet Premier from a conference of agricultural pioneers in Akmolinsk, a dusty township in Kazakhstan, destined in a few years to become a small version of Chicago.

The town stands at the heart of the 50 million or so acres of virgin and fallow land ploughed in this region since 1955, when Krushchev proclaimed his determination to make the Soviet Union a greater producer of grain and meat than the United States.

Linked with Germans: He spoke in Akmolinsk as First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and his speech lasted for three hours and thirteen minutes. In the traditional order, he paid tribute to the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Tartars, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Georgians, Lithuanians and Estonians who had left their home towns and villages to settle in the wild steppes of Soviet Central Asia.

But, instead of confining himself to the enumeration of Soviet peoples possessing their own republics and dismissing the contribution of the rest with the usual formula "and other nationalities," Krushchev went on to single out "Jews and Germans,"* and only then referred to "representatives of most other Soviet nationalities."

Why the Soviet Premier should choose to bracket Jews and Germans is something probably best left to a Freudian psychoanalyst to explain, but that Krushchev should mention the Jews at all and praise them for playing their part in what is essentially an agricultural operation is most remarkable.

* According to the latest population census, there are over 1,700,000 Germans in the Soviet Union, 75 per cent of whom gave German as their native tongue.



A WORD IN FAVOUR
How "official" was it?

Eighteen years ago: The last time Krushchev is reported to have spoken of Jews in public was in November 1943, immediately after the liberation of Kiev. As first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, member of the Military Council of the First Ukrainian Front and head of the partisan movement in the Ukraine, he visited Babi Yar, on the outskirts of Kiev, the site of the greatest mass murder committed by the Nazis in the Ukraine.

Faced with the abundant traces of the Nazi crime, Krushchev, visibly moved, is reported to have said in his impromptu speech: "We will bring people from all over the world to this place so that they shall see and never forget what was done to innocent Soviet Jews".

But five months later, on March 1, 1944, when the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. met for the first time after liberation, Krushchev no longer thought it necessary, in the course of a long and emotional speech describing the martyrdom of the Ukraine under the Nazi heel, to mention the sufferings and heroism of Ukrainian Jews. He simply spoke of "our people", but never of Soviet Jews who were the chief victims of the collusion between the German invaders and Ukrainian nationalists.

Helping "the Yids": A little later, speaking at an open-air meeting at Sarny in Volyn, almost within sight of a mass grave of 16,000 murdered Jews, and in the knowledge that among his listeners there were hundreds of Jewish partisans,

Krushchev told his audience: "The Germans have murdered Ukrainians, Poles and other nationalities."

In private, of course, Krushchev has never been so reticent about Jews. When, in 1940, he visited Lvov, then recently incorporated in the Soviet Union, he received a delegation of Polish Communist leaders. He told them that one of the main reasons why the Polish Communist Party had been so ineffective was the excessive number of its Jewish leaders. In 1955, when he descended upon Warsaw in the company of Molotov, Mikoyan, Kaganovich and Marshal Ivan Konyev, in his unsuccessful attempt to stop Gomulka's rise to power, his first words at Okecie Airport were: "So you want to help the Yids!"

Against this background, Krushchev's mention of Jews in his Akmolinsk speech is a quite unexpected development. But even more surprising is the occasion he chose for praising them. Had he eulogised in public the contribution of Jewish scientists to the development of Soviet rocketry or nuclear weapons, as he did during his visit to the United States, his behaviour would have been novel but not unexpected. For Russians and Ukrainians are fully aware of the value of Jewish brains to their country, irrespective of whether they are friendly or hostile to Jews.

Second thoughts: But, like most Russian and Ukrainian anti-Semites, Krushchev has been claiming, as is known from the interview he gave to M. Serge Grousard of *Le Figaro* in the spring of 1958, that Jews are incapable of physical work, collective efforts and group discipline. Therefore, the fact that he singled out Jews by name from among the 50-odd Soviet nationalities for having played the part of pioneers in one of the greatest undertakings in Soviet history must have been received with wonder and satisfaction by Soviet Jews.

Since the first, pleasant shock of this public recognition, however, Soviet Jews have been given cause to think again before seizing on this one, lone reference as a sign of a "wind of change." On March 18, four days after the Soviet Premier's live broadcast from Akmolinsk, Moscow Radio broadcast the "official version" of Krushchev's speech in which there was no reference to either Jews or... Germans. Both were covered by the usual formula of "representatives of most other Soviet nationalities."

What remains unexplained is whether Krushchev's reference to Jews was simply a *lapsus linguae* on his part, or whether his speech was censored by Moscow Radio. We shall probably never know.

BOOKS

REMEMBER AMALEK

THE TESTAMENT OF ADOLF HITLER, edited by Francois Genoud, with an introduction by H. R. Trevor-Roper; 115 pp.; (Cassell) 12s. 6d.

There are few books about the last war that made quite so deep an impression on me as this slender volume recording Hitler's table-talk during his last days in the bunker in Berlin. A perceptive and important introduction by Hugh Trevor-Roper sets the stage. As he says, these are not the rantings of a crazed tyrant, but the coldly reasoned arguments of a quite exceptional brain. The manner in which Hitler rationalises his defeat could be almost convincing were it not for Trevor-Roper's incisive critique of the arguments advanced by the defeated Führer.

But even so, these show how near we were to the abyss in the early years of the war, and even before it ever began. The man who did him down, in Hitler's opinion, was Neville Chamberlain. For Hitler wanted to fight in the autumn of 1938, and Chamberlain, by his abject surrender at Munich, prevented him from embarking on his war then, when he was ready and the allies were even more unready than in 1939.

Hitler also blames Mussolini, who prevented him from launching the attack on Russia on May 15, as he had planned. The five lost weeks, Hitler argued, would have made all the difference when his armies reached Moscow. They would have got there before the weather broke. He also thought he was wrong in helping Franco and his clericals, and he should have sided with the proletariat in France and liberated the French colonies in Africa and in the Levant. Altogether, he should have worked much more closely with "Islam," and swept the British and the Jews out of the Middle East.

Only on the Jewish question has he no regrets. He claims that he set out to destroy the Jews and he hopes that, even if he loses the war, someone else will finish the job for him. There is surely something almost fantastic about the final pages of this book. While the last Jews in Auschwitz were being done to death, while the camp population of Belsen were beginning to turn into skeletons, it was these people, not Stalin, not the Americans, who haunted Hitler's last hours. He was not concerned with their misery or with the

hastened tempo of destruction. He was still concerned with the surviving Jewry which, in his last words, remained to be eradicated by the future white master race.

The full horror of Hitler's attitude to the Jews comes out more clearly here than anywhere else; just because he does not rant but speaks with something like clinical coldness, the impact is all the stronger. This is an important, impressive and frightening book.

Jon Kimche

PROFESSIONAL GUIDE

THE PRINCE, by Niccolo Machiavelli; a new translation by George Bull, with introduction and glossary, 154 pp.; (Penguin Classics) 3s. 6d.

There is no profession which suffers so much from well-meaning amateurs as politics; except, possibly, diplomacy. It is the amateur who always knows best what is good for others, and who judges political needs and possibilities by his own personal experience. The result is usually disastrous. It was this that Machiavelli sought to avoid. *The Prince* was written for his friends and acquaintances in the business of politics or running governments. It was meant to impress on them that there were certain rules which could be broken only at their peril. Much of what he had to say has naturally dated, but a surprising amount remains as valid today as it was in his Florentine days five hundred years ago. And it can be recommended to the well-intentioned—and particularly "liberal"—amateurs of today as a lesson in healthy

realism. Mr. Bull's new translation is a pleasure to read, and his long introduction a valuable addition to this latest Penguin.

E.D.

GERMANY'S ISRAEL

ISRAEL, STATE OF HOPE, by Kurt Schubert and Rolf Vogel; 87 pp., text, copious illustrations; (Schwabenverlag, Stuttgart) N.P.

This book was published in Western Germany, and is beautifully produced. Something over half its very large pages are text, written with knowledge and sympathy, and giving a panoramic view of the whole history of Zionism and the creation of the State of Israel—with some notable omissions. In a 600-word section entitled "The Consequences of National Socialism in Germany," only one fleeting reference is made to the fact that National Socialism was "anti-Jewish," while "The Jewish Refugee Problem in Europe" says nothing whatever about whose fault it was that there were refugees at all. In "The Partition Scheme," mention is made of "the terrible Jewish losses in the gas chambers and concentration camps of the Third Reich," but this is the only intimation that Hitler's Germany killed six million Jews. The black and white half tone illustrations which make up nearly half the book are competent, but not striking. Neither the dust jacket nor the book itself gives any indication of who Messrs. Schubert and Vogel are, nor why they should have compiled this book.

S.L.

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WILL THE LEFT BREAK THE TRUCE?

from our own correspondent

Rabat:

The wave of shock and hopelessness that swept over the country with the announcement of Mohammed V's death less than a month ago has subsided, and as Ramadan drew to a close last week, the atmosphere was one of cautious, almost resigned, hopefulness.

The country's political leaders had concluded a truce on the night of February 26, after Mohammed's death had become known, and they are sticking to it scrupulously. All is, for the time being, quiet on the home front.

Now that Ramadan, with its traditional deceleration of tempo, has ended, how long the calm will continue is anybody's guess. In the meantime, however, negotiations between the parties continue, and that is always regarded by many as a hopeful sign.

U.N.F.P. a tough nut: The essential issue is whether the powerful U.N.F.P. (Union Nationale des Forces Populaires) will be able to convince both its adversaries and its allies to agree to a "government of transition".

The toughest nut for the U.N.F.P., which with its close ally the U.M.T. (Union Marocaine des Travailleurs) has a tremendous following among the urban masses of Casablanca, Rabat, Safi, Kenitra and even Tangier, will be Allal el-Fassi's Istiqlal Party.

Istiqlal controls the conservative bourgeoisie of Fez and Meknes, as well as—



FROM THE KING A NEW PROMISE OF EQUALITY
Morocco's Chief Rabbi with leading members of the community

and more importantly—the most important ministerial posts in the present Government. So far, the U.N.F.P. does not seem to have had a great deal of success in bringing Istiqlal round to its point of view.

Fundamental demand: The demand for a "government of transition" is fundamental to U.N.F.P.'s position, and was formulated at the party's administrative commission meeting on the eve of Hassan II's enthronement. Its leaders, mainly Abderrahim Bouabid and Abderrahmane Youssefi, have insisted throughout the negotiations behind closed doors in Rabat that the "government of transition" (Istiqlal prefers to call it a "government of national union") would have to prepare the country for the immediate election of a constituent assembly.

The election of such an assembly, which would start work straightaway on drafting a constitution, would mean

scrapping the constitutional council set up by Mohammed V only last year under the presidency of Allal el-Fassi.

Hurried meetings of Istiqlal leaders in Fez, Meknes and Casablanca were followed by an announcement by the party's headquarters that it was "ready to consent to make all the concessions asked of it, save those which might affect the doctrine and principles . . . that the choice of constitutional procedure is reserved to His Majesty himself".

Generalities: But the Istiqlal was not the only party the U.N.F.P. had to reckon with. It would also have to win over the Popular Movement of Dr. Abdelkrim Khatib and Mahjoubi Ahar-dane. The party's main strength lies in the mountain peoples of the Riff and the Middle Atlas and the peasants of the central plain.

They have not only been dismayed and bewildered at the sudden and unexpected death of the late King, but the recent increases in the *tertib* (agricultural tax) have made them disgruntled and restive.

As the negotiations continued, the Popular Movement took refuge in generalities: "The national union must be brought about on the basis of reconsideration of the rights of the people which have been injured. Such a union must be achieved on a democratic and constitutional basis, guaranteeing equality of rights and duties to all citizens, and assuring them of equal opportunities."

Keeping quiet: The two smallest groupings, P.D.C. (Parti Democrat Constitutionnel), led by Mohammed Hassan el-Ouazzani, and Rashid Mouline's Liberal

GOING TO ISRAEL THIS SPRING?

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Independents kept their feelings and opinions to themselves.

There were important reasons for this policy of keeping mum. Mohammed Cherkaoui, Minister of Posts and one of the leaders of the P.D.C. has his eye on another Government job, and he is unwilling to prejudice his chances by committing himself at this stage of the proceedings.

Cherkaoui worked with the U.N.F.P. for two years, but then changed allegiance and resumed his role as chief spokesman for Mohammed Hassan el-Ouazzani, one of the *eminences grises* of Moroccan nationalism, who has become a kind of Messali Hadj without a big personal following.

Alaoui moving on? The portfolio Cherkaoui—a rich man with journalistic inclinations—has his eye on is the one at present held by Moulay Ahmed Alaoui, Minister of Information and Tourism and spokesman for the palace. Observers here consider that Alaoui may soon be leaving his ministry, an opinion which has been considerably strengthened for many by the appointment of Ahmed Reda Guedira as chief of Hassan II's Royal Cabinet, since Guedira and Alaoui have not been on the best of terms in the past.

It would obviously be in Cherkaoui's best interests to maintain good relations with Guedira, in view of the close alliance existing between Guedira's Liberal Independents and the palace. As Guedira has made no comment on the U.N.F.P.'s proposals, Cherkaoui has said nothing about them either.

But the parties have not only been discussing matters between themselves. Delegations from all political groups have been putting their views on the constitution and the make-up of any coalition government to King Hassan II. Lest there should be any misunderstanding about the purpose of these talks, Alaoui lost no time in announcing that they had been "audiences, not consultations", emphasising that the power of the King remained above any political party or movement.

Political acumen: So far, the King seems to have been able to carry on the political tight-rope act his late father had developed to such a fine pitch of perfection.

Hassan thought so too, judging from his remark to a French journalist that Morocco was in a "state of grace". However, he was under no illusions: "This is my good fortune, in view of the immense task that awaits me".

So far, as everyone seems agreed, he has ruled carefully and with no little

political acumen. He has stilled Left-wing demands that the French evacuate their pilot training schools, although Istiqlal's reaction was to demand, in *Al-Alam*, that the Americans leave their bases before the prearranged 1963 deadline.

The French navy would still be able to maintain its forces at the Kenitra naval air station, even after evacuation of the last *base-école* (pilot training school) next October 1, Istiqlal pointed out, since it uses Kenitra as a "Franco-American" base under its agreements with the United States.

Reassurances for the Jews: Hassan had also given quiet reassurances to Jewish community leaders, preparing for their meeting here last Sunday, that his late father's promises of equality of treatment would be kept. But, no steps were taken either to release or bring to trial the forty-two Jews arrested in Casablanca last December on charges of "threatening the internal security of the State".

Reports say that the forty-two were connected with an illegal "Zionist emigration office", a connection which popular rumour has linked with the *Pisces* disaster last January, when over forty Moroccan Jews were drowned when the yacht in which they were trying to reach Israel foundered in the narrow neck of the Mediterranean between Spain and Morocco.

Hassan has been exerting himself to play no favourites. He had assiduously been keeping open his channels of communication between Rabat and Moscow, as well as Washington and Paris. Proof of this could be seen in the Government's invitation to Soviet technicians to study

the Alhucemas shipyard and the Nador steel mill projects.

Cost of living up: On the other hand, the King left the West in no doubt that, if it behaved with discretion in Morocco, and if the Algerian peace negotiations went well, it could preserve its priority position in Morocco without undue difficulty.

But now that Ramadan has ended and the feasting that marked its end and the holiday of Aid es-Seghir is over, U.N.F.P. pressure on the constitutional issue is bound to increase. So too, is the demand by the U.M.T. for a general wage increase.

According to *At-Tahrir*, mouthpiece of the U.N.F.P., the Bureau d'Etudes of the U.M.T. had been studying a five-point rise in the general price index for essentials. This had taken place in the course of one month, said *At-Tahrir*, but if Rabat prices were taken into account, the rise had been even greater—from 103.4 to 114.7, instead of the official Casablanca figure of 109.3.

Wage demands: According to the *dahir* (decree) on price and wage controls, every time prices rise by five per cent, wages and salaries should be increased by that much automatically. "Thus", said *At-Tahrir*, "basing itself on the official figures, the U.M.T. demands an automatic increase in salaries and wages of ten per cent."

Al Moustakbal, weekly of the J.O.M. (a substitute for the U.M.T.'s *Avant-Garde*, banned some weeks ago and allowed to reappear last week—see J.O., March 10) went one better. It demanded a fifteen per cent increase.

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JPA-JNF NEWS

Prepared by JPA/JNF Public Relations Department, Furnival House, 14 High Holborn, W.C.1. Chancery 5986/7

WELL OVER £1,000,000 RAISED WITHIN MONTH

Well over one million pounds in specific J.P.A. pledges has been raised so far (actually £1,020,000) with the new Appeal barely one month old. This excludes the figure of £350,000 as a capital sum through the Edith Wolfson Foundation, so that in all, under the banner of this effort to knit the "two Israels" into one unified nation, £1,370,000 has been mobilised.

Success story? By ordinary standards the results could be termed a remarkable success story. It speaks volumes for the sense of purpose shown by devoted members of the movement all the way down the line, for the organisation at headquarters, and for the efficacy with which our message has got through. But do ordinary standards apply? This year they do not. At the risk of blunting the impression of urgency which is the defect of constant repetition, we must insist that this year an extraordinary effort to meet essential goals is required.

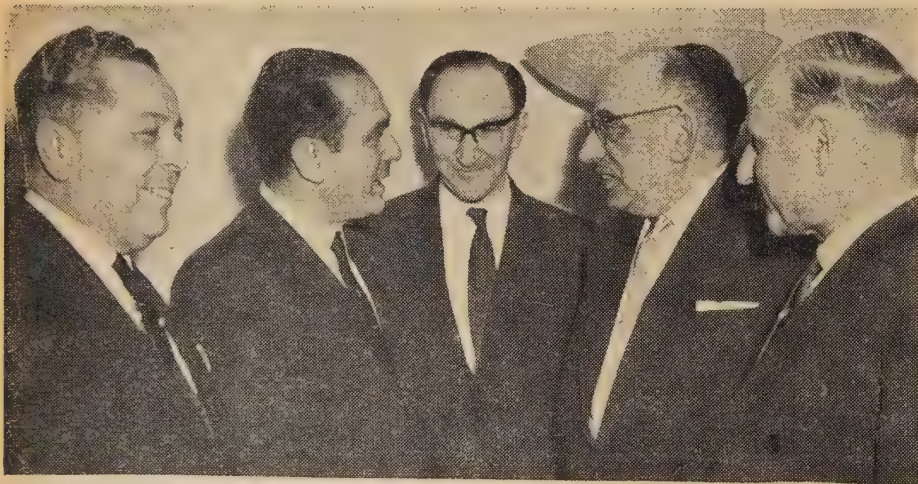
The gravity of the warning issued by the Jewish Agency executive last week can be underestimated only at the risk

of losing out on the advances registered in immigrant integration and economic consolidation over the past few years. Less money to do more work seems in any case to be the consequence of this year's budget. How much less money? This is the question that we alone can answer.

Phase Three in peril: Should we fail, it will not merely be a matter of postponing till next year tasks which otherwise would be completed in 1961. What actually is at stake is no less than the whole of the third phase of Israel's development—the culmination of 12 years of capital investment and human endeavour. Progress one year consolidates the progress of the previous year; ground lost cannot easily be regained. Before we face the prospects of accommodating new people in ma'abarot, let us at least ensure that their existing occupants are rehoused.

Some of the meetings which lifted our total above the million pound mark last week are reported in this issue.

NESHER TELLS GEULAH THE TALE OF A D.P.



Dr. Arie Neshet spoke as a former Displaced Person when he described the process of a new immigrant's rehabilitation on arrival in Israel. The speaker, who was addressing a Geulah-Mizrachi meeting at the home of Mr. and Mrs. P. Cohen, said that it was precisely through organisations such as J.P.A. that he was able to be with them that evening.

Taking the Biblical quotation: "Am I my brother's keeper?" Dr. Neshet thought rather that he wanted the Jew not to be

his brother's keeper, but his brother's brother. This required much more than mere understanding of Israel's problems. It asked for love.

So far, reported S. Srebnik, Geulah-Mizrachi had subscribed £6,000, all through personal canvass. The good wishes of the meeting for Dr. Neshet's tour were voiced by Major M. Eckstein.

With Dr. Neshet in our picture are D. L. Izsak, Philip Cohen, G. Hepner and M. Haberfeld.

HOW ISRAEL LOOKS AT THE APPEAL

AVNER WITH FOOD TRADE, HAMPSTEAD G. SUBURB GROUPS



With Gershon Avner, H.G.S. chairman Harry Landy

What does a high Israeli official think of the work done by a voluntary organisation like J.P.A. for the development of his country? He certainly does not, as we are sometimes given to believe, regard it with off-handedness and disparagement, a kind of toleration of our partnership by those who are actually doing the job towards those who contribute through a sense of guilt or vicarious glory.

A privilege: Gershon Avner, who as head of the North American Division of the Foreign Ministry can be counted upon to reflect faithfully the opinions of the upper ranks in government, gave gatherings of the Food Trade and Hampstead Garden Suburb district his personal views on this subject. He had considered it a privilege, he said, to be asked by the J.P.A. administrative committee to interrupt his work in Jerusalem and undertake this tour. The partnership established between Israel and the Jews of the Diaspora was "magnificent and unique", and deserved the gratitude of all Israel. For without that partnership Israel had no chance of carrying her aims forward on so many fronts.

What were those aims? Basically there were three: integration of 20,000 families; the opening up of new territories with employment prospects for immi-

J P A - J N F N E W S

grants now arriving at the rate of at least 2,000 each month; and the raising of economic levels for 130,000 farmers on hundreds of new villages.

Food trade result: This was the story put over with powerful effect by Mr. Avner at the Food Trade dinner at the Savoy, which had Mr. and Mrs. Charles Goldrei as its hosts and S. F. Weldon in the Chair. A sum of £15,000 was raised on the appeal of Nathan Goldenberg, deputy-chairman, who at the same time expressed the group's thanks for the lead given it by Mr. Goldrei and Mr. Weldon. Grace was recited by Ben Bard, while a tribute was also earned by Maurice Wick, last year's chairman.

Suburb still top: The Hampstead Garden Suburb meeting took place at the home of chairman Harry Landy. Here Mr. Avner referred to the many complications of state-building which compelled Israel to enter her Barmitzvah year with another call upon the generosity of world Jewry. As an example he quoted the security budget. It was, he said, the heaviest per capita of any country.

At this well-attended gathering the result was fully commensurate with the standard already set by Mr. Landy's committee, and keeps the Suburb at the

NORTH LONDON CAMPAIGN STEPS UP



Avner in Highgate: With him are Dr. Alec Philips, S. W. Gold, Mrs. Philips, Mrs. Newgas, John Barnett, Mrs. Barnett and Mr. Newgas.

top in London. It concluded with a contribution of £25,500 to inaugurate the district's effort and gave Dayan Dr. M. Lew and M. Fulder full justification for their brief speeches of thanks to the guest speaker and the chairman.

Mrs. Susan Dar of J.P.A. head office, reporting on plans to spread the Appeal to the heavily Jewish populated area of North London, tells us that committee

arrangements are now well forward, though actual launching awaits in many cases the arrival next month of Mrs. Rachel Hubner.

Muswell Hill: Already, some important gatherings have taken place. In Muswell Hill, for example, where S. W. Gold deputised for Dr. Arie Nesher, a most successful event has taken place at the home of Mr. and Mrs. M. Sorsky. Dr. I. S. Fox presided, and the total raised was £2,650. Among the speakers were M. H. Morris, the chairman, and H. Koor, while special mention must be made of the participation of that veteran worker, H. Sunderland.

Highgate had its first meeting last weekend at the Fitzroy Park home of Mr. and Mrs. John Barnett, with Gershon Avner as the guest speaker. It realised £2,500, and another meeting has been arranged as an Israel Barmitzvah celebration on April 23. This is due to take place at the Synagogue Hall, with Mr. and Mrs. S. Barden as hosts. Highgate's president is H. Goldstein, and this year's chairman is Dr. A. Phillips. J. Mordsley and R. Sanders are treasurer and secretary respectively.

Palmers Green: In Palmers Green, a president has been nominated to lead the community in this Barmitzvah year effort. He is D. Barnes, and the new chairman is H. Epstein. The inaugural meeting will be on April 26 at the home of the treasurer, L. R. Wilton.

Tottenham's campaign is scheduled for May 4 at the Lord Morrison Hall, Tottenham. The chairman is L. Littman, with A. S. Zimmerman as treasurer and C. P. Newman secretary.

(Story continues page 34)

THE STORY IN YIDDISH FOR WEST CENTRAL

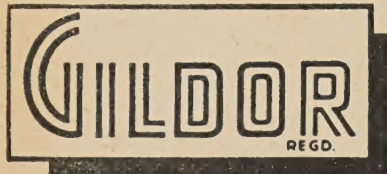
Meier Tzelnick, the well-known Jewish actor, told the West Central Zionist Society some of his famous Yiddish stories, when he inaugurated this group's J.P.A. effort at the Shaftesbury Hotel last week. I. J. Miller led the appeal and £350 was raised.

Chairman R. Bruner emphasised that Israel was the creation of the whole of Jewry, and therefore her progress and further development depended upon the whole of Jewry's support. S. Wolkind reported encouraging progress on future steps.



It's that man again! This time with Food Trade officers C. Goldrei, S. F. Weldon, M. Wick and N. Goldenberg.

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EITHER OR—
I CHOOSE**



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N. Stern and H. D. Weinles are the joint chairmen of the Highbury Committee, and their plan is to organise a film show and reception on April 30. The treasurer is A. Anderman and the secretary E. Grey.

Stamford Hill hopes to score heavily with their Barmitzvah celebration at the Marcus Samuel Hall on May 14. They are inviting nationally-known speakers, and this committee is handling the arrangements: president, Rabbi Dr. S. M. Lehrman; vice-presidents, A. R. Azizolahoff, Ald. Samuel Fisher, J.P.; chairman, S. Furman; treasurer, H. Green.

Hackney's guests: Lord Stonham and Harry Shine have accepted invitations to be guests of honour at the Hackney community dinner on April 23. Tickets for this event, at 30/- each, are available from the executive which is as follows: presidents, Rabbi H. Rashbass, Rev. Dr. B. Joseph; vice-presidents, S. Rurka, L. L. Solovitch; chairman, J. Barden; vice-chairman, I. Simia; treasurer, M. Leifer; secretary, I. E. Gilbey; function secretary, M. Compton.

Finally, Finsbury Park has been under difficulties because of the illness of E. Milner, who is joint chairman with H. Coren. However, it is now proposed to launch the campaign on May 14.

Many of these gatherings will be fortunate in having the presence of J.P.A. provincial secretary S. W. Gold to support guest speakers in the Appeal.

JPA - JNF NEWS

ROYAL FILM PREMIERE PROVES A TOP MONEY-MAKER: £29,000 FOR J.N.F. AND N.P.F.A.

"Mr. Topaze" is a film about a money-maker and it certainly proved so in actual fact for the Jewish National Fund and the National Playing Fields Association on Monday evening, when Prince Philip joined supporters of the two organisations at the World Premiere in London. Total proceeds were in the neighbourhood of £29,000, which the two bodies share.

Prince Philip told the committee: "I should like to thank the president of Twentieth Century Fox Films, Spyros P. Skouras, and his directors, for making the film available this evening and so allowing the National Playing Fields Association and the J.N.F. Charitable Trust to get together again. The members of the organising committee, under the active presidency of Lord Luke and Mrs. Isaac Wolfson, have made a great effort to take full advantage of the evening and many others have worked hard to make tonight's presentation a great success. Both charities owe a great debt of gratitude to all those kind people who have generously bought tickets or taken space in the brochure."

Among those who were presented to the Duke on his arrival in the foyer of the Carlton Theatre were Lady Luke, Sir Hugh and Lady Fraser, Col. Alexander Woods, Major A. Huskisson, C. L. Walker and Louis Scott. These were in-



Prince Philip in conversation with Lord Luke, Mrs. Wolfson and Dimitri de Grunwald.

troduced by Lord Luke. On behalf of the Jewish National Fund, Mrs. Wolfson introduced Mrs. H. Gestetner, Mr. and Mrs. Rosser Chinn, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Lyons, Mrs. Jack Steinberg, and Isaac Wolfson.

Finally, executive producer Dimitri de Grunwald introduced Peter Sellers, Pierre Rouve, the producer, and other stars of the film.

This outstanding money-making event is the second joint venture of the two organisations, and has brought them to the forefront of all welfare agencies operating in this country.



Mrs. Wolfson presenting Mrs. Gestetner. Looking on are Rosser Chinn, Isaac Wolfson, Louis Scott and C. L. Walker.

J P A - J N F NEWS

YOUNGER COMMISSIONS AND THEIR TARGETS

HOW TO GET TO MOUNT MERON THIS YEAR

"All hands on deck" to build the Highway of Youth on Mount Meron was the theme of the Seventh National Conference of Younger J.N.F. Commissions at the Metropole Hotel, Brighton, on Sunday.

This project, which is part of the general development of Western Galilee, was described in an address by Gershon Avner, Head of the U.S. Division of Israel's Foreign Ministry. He showed that Israel was still largely undeveloped, and therefore security and economic reasons demanded the fullest exploitation, through irrigation, road-works and afforestation, of every part of the country. He was glad that this pioneering task on Mount Meron was a challenge so readily assumed by the Younger Commissions. Trevor Chinn, Chairman of the National Council presided.

Aliyah follows tour: Following a well-coming speech from B. Halpern of Brighton's senior Commission, and from Michael Singer, chairman of the Younger J.N.F. Commission of this city, Mr. Chinn commented on the events of the past year, and as an epilogue to the enthusiastic reports of the 1960 Younger J.N.F. Tour to Israel, announced that one of their members, Eric Sanders (Ilford) had now immigrated to Israel.

Mr. Chinn thought that the chief aims they had to have before them were (1) further understanding of the significance

of J.N.F., (2) increased membership, and (3) realisation of the target of £35,000 and methods to achieve this.

Recruiting: During the sessions, problems of recruitment were fully discussed, with suggestions from Geoffrey Chinn (Charities Aid), John Goodman (Adulam), Raymond Birnbaum (Great 17th), Clive Stern (President Commission), Conrad Morris (Junior Blue & White), Melvyn Gilmont (Edgware) and John White (Dublin).

Reporting on box-placing activity, Michael Singer, who is in charge of this field, put forward a scheme for a Golden Box competition, the first award to be made at the autumn conference to the Commission placing the greatest number of boxes.

On the Highway of Youth project, Conrad Morris emphasised that the target of £35,000 must be achieved by June 30. At present, however, there was a gap of £6,500 to fill. This could be done by more functions and increased effort all round.

Barmitzvah Forest: Melvyn Gilmont, National Tree Officer, emphasised the importance of support for the Barmitzvah Forest Scheme, and Youth Week Tree drives, and in this regard, Stephen Cantor (Sheffield) proposed that regional committees be set up to approach the parents of barmitzvah boys to plant trees in this 13th anniversary tribute.

Bruce Howitt listed the following

functions ideas: the "Queens" Competition, a Tennis championship, J.N.F. Car Club in addition to the usual fund-raising events. Other money-making schemes suggested were bazaars and barbecues, day trips to the Continent and Independence Day functions. During this discussion, the group had the advice of R. J. Friedmann, Functions department director. It was announced that the tour to Israel, planned for two weeks commencing August 6, would cost £130.

E. R. T. Schaerf of the J.N.F. administrative committee, summarised the ideas put forward. He thought that the discussions had been useful and constructive, and he reminded delegates of Mr. Avner's inspiring speech, expressing the hope that it would instil a still greater enthusiasm for future activity.

Finally, Trevor Chinn thanked Head Office personnel for all their help in making this conference a success, and he expressed delegates' gratitude to their Brighton colleagues for acting as hosts. Among those attending were Ram Haviv, J.N.F. director, and S. Lowensohn, national organising Secretary.

THIS WEEK'S BEST BOXES

N. LONDON: Mr. Abrahams, 4 Beatty Road, N.16, £11.3.6. Mr. W. Rich, 51 Hounsden Road, Winchmore Hill, N.21, £5.13.11. Mr. J. Miller, 7 Cambridge Gardens, Winchmore Hill, N.21, £3.2.0. Mrs. F. Newmann, 45 Mount View Road, N.4, £2.17.0. Mr. W. Shrubel, 101 Lealand Road, South Tottenham, N.15, £2.16.0. Mr. R. Fagelston, 46 Hardwicke Road, N.13, £2.0.0. Mrs. Goodrich, 64 Stamford Lodge, Amhurst Park, N.16, £2.0.0.

E. LONDON: Mrs. L. Klang, 9 Rutland Road, E.9, £4.7.3. Messrs. Benmax Bros., 22 Mare Street, E.8, £3.0.0. Mrs. Marks, 85 Graham Road, E.8, £2.0.0.

W. LONDON: Mr. O. Neufeld, 74 Berwick Street, W.1, £16.2.0. Mrs. Edith Morrison's Sewing Guild, 200 Tottenham Court Road, W.1, £3.1.6. Lasky's Radio, 42 Tottenham Court Road, W.1, £3.0.6. Mrs. Mendelson, 20 Nassau Street, W.1, £3.0.0. S. & B. Leather Cloth, 147 Cleveland Street, W.1, £2.15.3. International Forwarding Agency, 13/17 Rathbone Street, W.1, £2.13.9. Messrs. Julius & Ernst Lowenthal, 100 Tottenham Court Road, W.1, £2.12.4. Messrs. Hertie Ltd., 33 Margaret Street, W.1, £2.1.0. Gran & Co., 27 Eastcastle Street, W.1, £2.0.0.

N.W. LONDON: Mrs. Treital, 88 Lynton Avenue, N.W.9, £12.10.6. Mr. Ben-Levi, 67 Aberdare Gardens, N.W.6, £4.10.0. Mr. R. Mandelbaum, 29 Chelmsford Square, N.W.10, £3.0.0. Mrs. Kaye, 57 Highfield Avenue, N.W.11, £3.0.0. Mrs. K. Greenspan, 40 Windsor Court, Golders Green, N.W.11, £2.14.6. Mr. M. Howard, 1 Woodland Close, N.W.9, £2.5.3. Mrs. L. Benzion, 128 Goldhurst Terrace, N.W.6, £2.5.0. Mr. E. Chanan, 14 Phillimore Gardens, N.W.10, £2.3.0. Mr. M. Raphael, 107 Rushgrove Avenue, N.W.9, £2.2.3. Mr. Richard Adler, 95b Priory Road, N.W.6, £2.0.6. Mrs. Arakie, 55 Compayne Gardens, N.W.6, £2.0.0. Mrs. Ora Lesham, 26 Aberdare Gardens, N.W.6, £2.0.0. Mr. & Mrs. Leifer, 70 Golders Manor Drive, N.W.11, £2.0.0. Mrs. R. Schillat, 15 Brook Lodge, North Circular Road, N.W.11, £2.0.0. Mr. & Mrs. Elks, 80 The Drive, N.W.11, £2.0.0. Mrs. J. Bogush, 27 Western Avenue, N.W.11, £2.0.0.

EDGWARE: Mr. Hassan, 62 Cannons Drive, Edgware, £6.9.0. Mr. Solomon Kutchinsky, 16 Hillersden Avenue, Edgware, £2.2.0. Mr. H. Newman, 45 Mill Ridge, Edgware, £2.0.0.

GLASGOW: Mrs. Edelman, 759 Pollokshaws Road, S.1, £2.12.6. Mrs. Plotnikoff, 1 Second Avenue, S.4, £2.12.0. Mrs. Mail, 1056 Aikenhead Road, S.4, £2.7.6. Mrs. S. Cina, 3 Deanston Drive, S.1, £2.2.0. Mr. R. Fogelman, 45 Titwood Road, S.1, £2.0.0. Mrs. J. Mellick, 217 Titwood Road, S.1, £2.0.0.



Gershon Avner makes a point in Brighton.

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